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JPRS Report

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INDIA

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International Affairs

Huge Arms Consignment From U.S. Seized

93AS0948A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 1 May 93 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 30 (PTI): In a sensational arms seizure, the Customs authorities made a rich haul of hundreds of pistols in a disassembled state from a big consignment which arrived in the capital from the United States.

The Customs authorities detained six persons for interrogation after the seizure and the investigations handed over to the Central Bureau of Investigation. [CBI]

About 1,000 pistols could be assembled out of the spares recovered from four large boxes marked 'metal scraps' from a container at the international container depot of the customs Department, the sources said, adding that the seizure was effected following a random check by the officials earlier this week.

The consignment, which came from an American firm, was ordered by 'Ferro Alloy', a company based in Delhi's G.T. Karnal Road. The container contained nine boxes, with five containing metal scraps.

All three directors of the firm, Sandip Kumar, Chaman Goyal and Govind Gupta, were among those detained and interrogated. The others detained were two clearing agents, Sushil Goyal and Balbir Singh Ganghi, and the Indian representative of the Houston-based firm 'A & A Metal Company', Hari Aggarwal, the sources said.

The sources said though the entire import process "looked bonafide as the importers had the required licences, a design behind the import cannot be ruled out."

The investigation had been handed over to the CBI which was expected to register a case soon, the sources added.

The CBI was expected to coordinate with the national security agencies, besides the Interpol, to ascertain the possible link with the Memon family or the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan ramifications of the latest seizure.

The spare parts could be easily assembled into pistols, along with some minor parts which were freely available in the country, the sources said.

The seizures were effected when Customs officials made a random check of the containers at the depot. Out of a consignment of four large packets marked 'metal scrap', three contained pistol spares.

Officials of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) were working in close coordination with the Customs authorities on the latest seizure.

Ballistic experts from the Army and National Security Guards (NSG) were reported to be examining the arms to ascertain their origin, the sources said.

The seizure comes in the wake of the admission by the Pombay police that all the consignments of explosives and arms which landed in the coastal villages of Maharashtra's Raigad district had not been recovered.

Following the March 12 chain of blasts in Bombay, the alerting of the intelligence agencies had led to the arrests of several suspects and recovery of large cache of arms, including AK-56 rifles and grenades, and explosive materials like the RDX.

Meanwhile the members in the Rajya Sabha demanded that the Home Minister make a statement on the reported seizure of sophisticated arms from the container depot here in Pragati Maidan, imported from the U.S by a cargo company.

Making a special mention, Mr. Ram Naresh Yadav (Congress) said Customs officials had seized the cargo which had come under the consignment of steel scrap.

"It was a serious matter and the government should come out with a statement," he said.

Supporting him, Mr. Jagesh Desai (Congress) said the government should make a statement on the issue and specify which company in India had contracted the consignment.

Malott Criticized for High-Handed Approach

93AS0899H New Delhi PATRIOT in English
22 May 93 p 1

[Editorial: "Malott Goes Back—Mauled"]

[Text] U.S. Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs John Malott obviously lost control of his mallet and that too on the first chukker of his initial foray into the troubled South Asian field. Having lost control, Mr Malott predictably sought to retrieve the situation by trying to be seen as even-handed, letting the ball swing first into the Pakistani half and then let it drift back into the Indian side.

In doing so Mr Malott appears, for the most part, to have delivered a not-so-veiled snub to his Indian hosts. As a spokesman of the world's self-appointed policeman, Mr Malott took it upon himself to lecture the Indians on his country's concern for human rights, not only of the Puerto Ricans and the blacks in the United States but also of Indian citizens living in India.

In his public address at India International Centre he took on the role also of a school master talking down to his audience, sharing with them the U.S. view of what constitutes human rights.

A liberal interpretation of Mr Malott's view would mean that every time the Indian security forces in Kashmir or, for that matter in any part of the country, say Punjab for instance, try to put down threats to the integrity of the nation it constitutes a violation of human rights.

In other words, every time this country feels that forces inimical to the sovereignty and integrity of the country are engaged in subversive activities New Delhi must first seek Washington's clearance on how to deal with the threat. Otherwise, as per Mr Malott, you will be put on the watch-list. And mind you that could have serious repercussions.

The U.S. administration could, for instance, advise the Washington based financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF to put the squeeze on India. Or alternatively, as the Clinton administration has made abundantly clear it could impose various kinds of trade restrictions.

Washington, obviously assumes that it is in a position to impose its will on anyone be it a Haiti or a India. Mr Malott makes one mistake though, when you deal with countries like India, you must remember it is not one of those banana republics where one twist of the arm forces countries to fall in line. Mr Malott's other mistake is that in his endeavour to be even-handed he is suggesting—not in so many words perhaps—that India must abdicate its responsibility in Kashmir.

It cannot be his case that India should cede an integral part of its territory to Pakistan for the sake of assuring the Americans that there is no threat to peace in the region. His even-handedness did, of course, cover human rights violations in Kashmir committed both by the "militants and the Indian security forces."

What he forgot to identify was who these militants were or who provided the fighting muscle to them. To go by the Pakistani version of his talks in Islamabad Mr Malott did not mention State-sponsored terrorism in relation to Kashmir. His concern there was about the allegations by several Islamic countries regarding their nationals (trained and armed in Pakistani camps) being harboured in Pakistan. The same Pakistani version would have one believe that Malott merely asked Pakistan to stop material assistance to Kashmiri militants.

Mr Malott should have known better than that. He should have known that the cause of the misery of the Kashmiri people lies not in the presence in the State of the Indian security forces but in the induction into the valley of terrorists, including Pakistani, Afghans, Sudanese, etc.

The Indian state is only exercising its lawful right to prevent Pakistani-backed insurgents from taking over a part of the union.

When he advised India to take "appropriate action" on the human rights front, Mr Malott should have realised that his advice constituted a most brazen interference in India's internal affairs. Seen in retrospect it was not for nothing that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao took strong exception to the American prescription on human rights as then enunciated by President George Bush at the summit of the Security Council members in New York two years ago.

One may or may not agree with the Chinese view of human rights but Mr Rao had on that occasion found a strong ally in Premier Li Peng who went on to say that it was no third country's business to tell another what constituted legitimate human rights and what did not. Mr Malott, as serious Indian observers in the Capital believe, may have done great harm to the developing of Indo-U.S. friendly dialogue.

Expanding Relationship With Israel Viewed

93AS0899C Madras FRONTLINE in English 4 Jun 93
pp 112-113

[Article by Manoj Joshi: "Changing Equations: The Coming Together of India and Israel"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] India's move to establish diplomatic relations with Israel late in 1991 was a mystery of the time. It was a time when a weak minority Government headed by P.V. Narasimha Rao had taken office. Its priority was to stabilise the political situation in India and push through a host of liberalisation measures to set the country on the path of economic growth.

In these circumstances, questions were raised about India's motives. Some claimed that the godman Chandraswami was instrumental in the process, others that it was part of a process of wooing the United States, Israel's mentor. The Government claimed it was a key element in India's overall West Asian strategy which had been devastated by its less-than-categorical stand on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. It was said the move would get India a seat at the West Asia peace talks. Why India wanted to participate in the negotiations is not clear since it had, and continues to have, more than its share of problems at home. Whatever the case, India upgraded its ties with Israel, and after a year's low-key ground-breaking, a structure of a relationship is emerging.

In March, Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit made the first-ever visit by a senior Indian official to Israel. This set the stage for the May 16-19 visit of Israeli Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Shimon Perez, to India. During the visit, some agreements were discussed and a few agreements relating to culture, tourism, air transport and scientific and technical cooperation were signed.

Other agreements on commerce, agriculture, trade and economic cooperation are under discussion.

Relations with Israel are part of a process that began in the early 1980s when Indira Gandhi moved towards the U.S. and began to open up the economy. Under Rajiv Gandhi the idea of a 'step by step' approach was given official sanction. However, according to an official, by 1991 "events overtook us." The West Asian peace process got under way, aided by the shift in the power balance following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Iraq was neutralised and Syria, Israel's remaining great antagonist, sided with the U.S.

"India would have looked holier than the Pope had it insisted on keeping Israel at arms' length when the Arabs sat across [from] them at the negotiating table," said a diplomat, recalling the decision-making that went on in the Ministry of External Affairs at the time.

In the West Asia peace process, the negotiations are divided into two parts—bilateral and multilateral. The former is subdivided into bilateral negotiations between Israel and Jordan, the Palestinians, Syria and Lebanon. This process is held under the auspices of the U.S. and Russia, which act as facilitators. Till now they have remained outside the process; they may now by present at the talks without participating in the deliberations. (See "The last chance?", page 53)

These bilateral talks are likely to result in a number of agreements such as the disengagement in Golan, the mountainous area separating Israel from Syria, and on the shape of the interim Palestinian state. Now, according to an Indian official involved in the issue, Golan is not militarily important anymore because of the lethal weaponry available to both sides which can overfly the heights. But it is important from another point of view—it is the source of water for Lake Kinneret, or the Sea of Galilee. Sharing these waters is important for the arid lands of the region.

Then there is the issue of refugees. How is the Palestinian diaspora to be defined, who will return to the interim Palestinian state? And finally there is the question of disarmament of the various over-armed groups. These three are multilateral issues, and it is expected that India can contribute its good offices and expertise there.

"The bilateral process will bring a Camp David-type agreement, but true peace will only come through multilateral agreements," says an Indian analyst. Foreign Ministry officials argue that it would have been against India's interests in its adjoining region to have stayed out of the process.

The most important element of the emerging Indo-Israeli relations is not on the 'glamorous' military side, but in the humble, but much more important, area of agriculture. Earlier this month, Maharashtra Chief Minister Sharad Pawar led a six-member delegation to the Agritech exhibition in Israel. The delegation included

Union Agriculture Secretary M.S. Gill, and Punjab Minister for Cooperation Sajjan Kumar Jakhar, son of Union Agriculture Minister Balram Jakhar, who will visit Israel later this year. About 600 farmers from Maharashtra and about 300 more from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Punjab and Haryana were also there. What they saw clearly impressed them. Israel has utilised its marginal water resources to make the desert bloom. Its strides in horticulture, aquaculture and floriculture and arid-zone farming hold applications for India.

Indians hope to use Israeli expertise to do the same in Rajasthan and other semi-arid States. Pawar, who has set up a drip-irrigation system on his farm in Baramati, is impressed by the potential. For an investment of Rs.30,000 an acre, yields have tripled and water consumption has been drastically cut. Maharashtra is inviting Israeli companies to carry out turnkey demonstration projects in drip-water management on four lots of 4,000 hectares. Pawar hopes a demonstration of the technology's benefit will win more converts.

The Punjab delegation too was impressed. The State does not lack water, but Punjabi farmers tend to over-use water resources and at the same time complain that "their" water is being given to other States such as Haryana and Rajasthan.

The real benefits may, however, accrue to Rajasthan where a pilot study is to be entrusted to an Israeli team which will study the water management and cropping practices of farmers along the Rajasthan Canal. The team will arrive at the end of May and train farmers in water-use and conservation; this is considered prestigious for the Israeli and gainful for India. Officials expect the World Bank to support later a wider scheme that would assist in implementing the recommendations of these consultants.

A second area Indian experts are looking at is solar energy. It is claimed that the Israelis have the only workable solar power generating system in the world. This is not just for fans and tube-lights, but for generating substantial amounts of power for supplying power grids. One such system is said to be working in California. Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL) has been negotiating with the Israelis for a 30 MW plant to be set up in Rajasthan; if successful, it will have enormous potential for many parts of India, particularly in the mountainous and desert regions. The Israelis are offering India a collaborative role in a more advanced 'water tower' solar technology which is even more effective.

In contrast to this, defence ties are still at the talking stage, obviously because of the resource crunch. The Israelis have approached the Indian market with great professionalism, sending first study teams last year, then officials, and finally a massive delegation. They have established links with Indian contacts—"agents" and middlemen as well as potential partners in collaborative ventures. But so far no concrete ventures have emerged.

Many Israeli products use Western components which may be embargoed for India. Recently Israel announced its "adherence" to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a Western embargo regime that targets India, among other nations. Israel, known to be a clandestine nuclear weapons power, has special exemptions from the U.S. in a variety of areas relating to defence technology, but it is not likely to anger the U.S. by passing some embargoed items to India. However, asserts one observer, "the Israelis can and do cut corners." Another official notes that the Israelis have developed their own technology in some areas and would be willing to part with these at a price.

There is one sector on the security side where relations have flourished. The Indian external intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), has always had links with the Israelis and the U.S. In the late 1970s it engineered the visit of Moshe Dayan to India; it has also played an important role in trying to get the Israeli defence industry a foothold in India. RAW sent its personnel to Israel for specialised training and in late 1984, in the wake of Indira Gandhi's assassination, it also invited a senior Israeli security specialist to advise on the Prime Minister's security system. RAW probably also buys electronic intelligence equipment from Israel. This is a strange relationship and it is also clear who gains what. Since RAW is accountable to no one but itself, one can only guess, but knowing the Mossad's reputation, the answer should be obvious!

The one big misgiving in the minds of many Indians has been the fate of the Palestinians. It is recognised that these hapless people have been attacked not just by Israel, but by all those who they thought were their friends. At various times they have been attacked by Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait and Syria. Indian officials in Tel Aviv say Palestinian leaders and even the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) have welcomed India's participation in the West Asia peace process. Being realists, they realise that India's establishment of diplomatic ties with Israel was inevitable. According to one official, the Palestinian leaders who met visiting Indian Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit expressed their happiness at India's participation in the process.

Another related worry among secular elements in India is the tendency of the Hindu right-wing (which has always advocated close relations with the Jewish state) to see Israel as a fellow "Muslim-basher." Israeli officials deny the validity of this view (see interview). Indian officials who spoke to FRONTLINE too emphasised the fact that the Likud right-wing Government may have vitiated the communal atmosphere in the past and may want to do so in the future, but the present Government is committed to peace and good relations with the Arab world and Muslims and does not see the issue in a communal light. They point out that Israel, like India, cannot afford to take to a path of confrontation with its Muslim citizens. If India's 100 million Muslims constitute 12 per cent of its population, Israel's one million

Muslims account for 20 per cent of its population. This is not counting the 600,000 who live in the occupied territories.

More than anything else, the changes in the relationship between India and Israel and between Israel and its Arab neighbours are the profound consequence of the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a multipolar world. Increasingly, as the world's remaining superpower shrinks to normal size, the responsibility of resolving regional conflicts will devolve on the region. Responsibility and accountability will be spread more evenly. The development of relations between India and Israel must be seen as part of this process.

This situation presents bewildering changes, enormous opportunities, but also lurking dangers. Fundamentalist Islam, which is rearing its head in the Arab world, is one such danger. But this affects not just India and Israel but Egypt, Algeria and other countries fighting it. It is the product of bad policy, failed leadership and lop-sided development, not something intrinsic in a faith. The responsibility is as much on the head of the national elites as it is on world leaders such as the U.S. and the United Kingdom. But they do not have to live in the region and interact with Islam; India and Israel have to and must think in terms of peace and tranquillity and stable conditions that will create prosperity for the long-suffering people of this region.

Israeli Ambassador Interviewed on Anti-Terrorist Efforts

93AS0899D Madras FRONTLINE in English 4 Jun 93
pp 114-115

[Interview with Ephraim Doweck by Manoj Joshi: "We Can Be Valid Partners"; place and date not given; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Ephraim Doweck, Ambassador of Israel in India, was born in Egypt in 1930 where he lived till the age of 18. This speaks for his background and specialisation. Since 1963 he has been a member of the Israeli Foreign Service.

Doweck is a specialist in establishing Israel's relations with various nations. He served as the first Minister-Plenipotentiary to Egypt during 1980-83 and was Ambassador there during 1990-92 before being sent to India. Manoj Joshi interviewed him in New Delhi recently. Excerpts:

[Joshi] When relations between India and Israel were established last year, we were told by our Government that one of the reasons for it was that they would enable India to play a great role in the West Asian peace process. Where does this stand now?

[Doweck] I don't know what the reasons are that brought the Government of India to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. For us it is a natural act that did not need any justification whatsoever. Having diplomatic

relations means having open channels of dialogue and that is the common practice in international life.

India is taking part at the multilateral level of (West Asia) negotiations which is a very important one because it is the essence of peace itself; not bilateral problems between us and the Arab countries but how we build peace in West Asia. There India is bringing its experience, its wisdom, its staunch dedication to peace and therefore we think it has a very important role to play. In the water issue, for example, we can learn a lot from India... in disarmament we see eye to eye with Indian in many things. The very fact that India has good relations with the Arab states makes India a potential bridge between us and our Arab partners in the dialogue.

[Joshi] How do you see the nature of the Indo-Israeli ties? One aspect of our relationship is the commercial side but don't you think there are limits to the ties between very large India and small Israel?

[Dowek] I don't believe that relations between the two countries are restricted to commerce and trade; there is a wide range of possibilities—cultural relations, diplomatic consultations, the human dimension, tourism and so on. I would say that the sky is the limit. Israel is not just a small country, it is a tiny country compared to India. Our whole population is not quite half the population of Delhi but, nevertheless, we have a special experience of development which we think is nearer to the needs of developing countries like India, because it is the summing up of a new experience of the last 50 years. We think that we have, in Israel, achieved a lot in the 45 years of our independence, today our per capita national income is some U.S.\$13,000. The GNP (Gross National Product) is around \$60 billion, and volume of our trade is \$40 billion a year which makes us very near the Indian figures.

We have a lot to learn from India as well, it is a two-way street. We know we shall reach a very meaningful volume of human and cultural exchanges, trade and diplomatic exchanges and so on.

[Joshi] What about the area of defence? In the last one year a systematic and substantial effort has been made by the Israeli industry to gain a foothold in India. Has there been any achievement in this or is it still at the talking stage?

[Dowek] Military sales and purchases too are not a one-way street. We have needs, you have needs. You may find some articles of interest to you and we may find some things of interest here. So it is part of the commercial contacts and there are naturally exchanges of delegations to explore the possibilities. The question is always of price and quality. There are things in which you can compete favourably, India is exploring this possibility. There are areas where India has a relative advantage and there are areas we are exploring. But nothing has been concretised as yet. These deals take a very long time and then, we are not the only ones in the market.

[Joshi] There is a fear that developing relations in this field with the strong Israeli industry may restrain our own efforts towards self-reliance.

[Dowek] A commercial transaction is a commercial one. But your point contradicts your former view that there can be a meaningful relationship between small Israel and large India. You can't say that if you buy from Israel or work with Israel it will jeopardise our own development. No one is saying you must buy from other countries. India has a very good industrial capacity. There are things you can buy in Israel or you can import technology, we are not restricting that. But whatever you are going to buy you can buy in Israel, in the West or in the East, but the decision to buy is yours. The moment you have decided, then we are among the competitors... Why don't you ask the same question with regard to Sweden, France or Russia...?

[Joshi] Well, this is a general question because many defence analysts believe that purchasing from abroad, regardless from where, did restrain our domestic capabilities.

[Dowek] The idea that there should be economic autarky of any kind has passed away. We tried to do that because of the Arab boycott and we were encircled, but we found that our economy was crumbling because we could not validly produce everything at a competitive price. We had to specialise in some areas to be competitive and indeed we are specialised in high technology and today we export \$4.5 billion of high technology...

[Joshi] How do you see the balance of trade five years down the line?

[Dowek] Around \$200 million turnover right now. There will be, I think, a constant growth of 30-40 per cent for the next five years and then it will be constant. The best approach is to have joint ventures so that the relationship is not purely one of trade but also transfer of technology on both sides, and common interests. There is a beginning of joint ventures which is very encouraging. We do not have any difficulty in exporting our technology.

[Joshi] India did not have full-fledged diplomatic relations with Israel for a long time because of a certain sensitivity, misplaced or otherwise, towards Muslim and Arab opinion. The normalisation of relations is sometimes explained by saying that this has been done because India is being affected by Hindu fundamentalism, or that Israel, like India, is beleaguered by Islam. This is not my opinion, but there is a section of opinion which feels that relations with Israel are important because the Israelis are another 'anti-Muslim' country. How do you see this kind of perception?

[Sowek] Israel is not fighting Islam, I don't believe that India is fighting Islam. The conflict in the Middle-East is not a religious conflict, it is a national conflict. The conflict in this region, if I dare give an opinion, is not a religious conflict, it is a national conflict. When you fight

for Kashmir you are not fighting because of Islam or Hinduism, you are fighting because this is the national territory, it is a national problem. So the perception that we are fighting Islam or India is fighting (Islam) is not correct.... To establish diplomatic relations between states does not mean that you automatically see eye to eye on everything or anything. It only means that the channels of dialogue are open and that in the decision-making process you take into account the opinion of the other side because you have heard it.

The fact that many countries did not have relations with Israel was part of the Arab strategy to isolate Israel. The fact that Arab countries are sitting at the negotiating table with Israel implies recognition of Israel and diplomatic ties with it. It would have been preposterous for China and India not to have dialogue with Israel.

We have many things in common, we are both democracies, you have problems with your neighbours, we have problems with ours.

[Joshi] There is one other issue that ties us together. We are both considered 'problem' states in the area of nuclear non-proliferation. How do you see this issue in Israel?

[Dowek] We do not consider ourselves a 'problem' state and neither do we consider India a 'problem' state. We think, like India, that non-proliferation is essential for world security. But it should be water-tight. It cannot be agreements of the kind we have seen—the NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty) and others, which countries sign with the clearcut intention not to respect. We have seen Iraq, one of the signatories, which was developing the bomb, we see Iran doing the same now, North Korea is doing that. Anyone can pull out of the NPT in six months. We think that regional relations are very important when it comes to disarmament. There, maybe, we do not see eye to eye with India which looks as it as a wider issue, may be because of the size. We are very small and we would like to reach non-proliferation on a regional basis in which we would have inspection systems where all kinds of armaments would be linked together, not just nuclear, biological and chemical but conventional weapons as well. Countries neighbouring us have more firepower than NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) alliance and all of them confront us, so we cannot say let us discuss non-conventional weapons.

[Joshi] How do you see the Palestinian problem?

[Dowek] Peace is within grasp. At long last we are seeing light at the end of the tunnel. You spoke of the Palestinian problem, for us for 50 years there was a problem more crucial, it was the problem of the very existence of the state of Israel.

Within the next ten years we shall have peace in our region. Arabs and Jews will be living in peace together, Palestinians and Israelis will live together. How I cannot say—whether it will be a federation or a confederation,

separate state and so on. We are going towards a solution and it will be implemented. I am very, very optimistic about the future.

U.S., Europe Said Monopolizing Human Rights Issues

93AS0926A New Delhi JANSATTA (Supplement)
in Hindi 6 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Satyendra Ranjan: "Whose Responsibility is Human Rights?"]

[Text] The human rights conference scheduled for June in Vienna may not have much hope associated with it; however, it is an important event in the history of the human rights movement. This conference is being held under the auspices of the United Nations after two decades. There have been major changes in world politics and balance of power during these two decades. After the disintegration of the Soviet bloc, international relations and goals have also changed. The human rights issue has moved higher on the agenda during these changes. It has moved so high that it is influencing international relations and politics. Representatives of government and nongovernment agencies from all over the world will participate in this conference. They will discuss for 12 days how to protect human rights and make people aware of these all over the world. Efforts will be made to issue a majority-approved resolution at the conclusion of the conference. This resolution will guide and encourage the countries all over the world to ensure human rights protection within their jurisdictions.

However, what lies beneath this declared goal of the conference is not so promising. Human rights may be an accepted concept in the world now; however, there are sharp differences over its definition and implementation. There are two levels of these differences. One is among various governments and the other is among the government and nongovernment agencies. There are also differences among various nongovernment agencies in many countries. However, since there is no difference in these agencies' fundamental beliefs, it is not difficult for these agencies to find points of agreement.

The differences among the governments have resulted from different established systems and disagreements because of their vested interests. No fundamental philosophical differences have caused these disagreements. The definitions of human rights presented by prosperous and poor nations are influenced by their selfish interests. These definitions have given birth to the argument over development versus human rights, and the Vienna conference is expected to spend a lot of time debating this issue. The United States and Western nations claim that human rights violations cannot be permitted under the "new world order." Therefore, the world community should have the right to interfere, including military interference, in a country that fails to fulfill its duty in following international human rights agreements.

The developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America claim that their priority is development, not human rights. They refuse to accept the arguments of Western nations. They have also raised the question of sovereignty. China and Islamic countries have also raised the question of cultural differences. They argue that there could not be a universal definition or explanation of human rights. There are different values in different societies and cultures, and human rights can be understood only within their frameworks.

The truth behind these arguments becomes obvious if we look at the economic goals of these countries. After the cold war, the United States and the Western nations that are concerned about protecting human rights are using the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to force the developing nations to make fundamental structural changes in their economic systems. The World Bank and IMF policies are increasing poverty and unemployment in these countries. It is natural for social and economic unrest in these countries because of these changes. How will poor nations like India that are adopting these policies cope with the expression of dissatisfaction with these policies? Will human rights not be violated extensively in this process? Obviously, this will happen. The Western nations are paving the way for human rights violations and deteriorating social-economic situations in these countries. At the political level, they are making protection of human rights a condition for issuing loans, and are espousing the right to interfere in any country to prepare the nation to accept this even though these proposals will mortgage our country's economic freedom. China, on the other hand, has raised the question of cultural differences. However, it was the first nation to sign a bilateral agreement with the United States over the question of patents. The same story is being repeated all over the world.

If we understand the characters and selfish needs of the ruling classes in the whole world, this tendency will not appear to be unexpected. The process of globalization is the result of cooperation among some rulers who want to use world resources without any restraint. However, there are conflicts among their own interests here. During the Earth Conference held in Rio De Janeiro last year, conflicts over these vested interests surfaced. That is why this conference failed to give any concrete suggestion about "ecology and progress" or to offer any alternative. It concluded by clouding these issues. There is a greater possibility of repetition of this in Vienna. Just like there was no guidance from the Rio conference for ecology and progress, there is no hope of any agreement over the human rights movement. Still, this conference is important since it points to the increasing pressure of the people's desires on the governments for protecting human rights and democracy. Regardless of how undemocratic these government institutions are and how often they violate human rights to protect their interests, they have to recognize these as important values for their governments. They are also forced to offer diverse definitions of democracy and human rights in order to validate their governments and their actions.

Therefore, it is important to seriously discuss various issues raised in this conference. We have to form views on these issues that are independent from the influence of developed countries. The government institutions that these governments represent cannot protect human rights. These institutions actually survive by violating human rights. The preservation of human rights and democracy is possible only by awareness among the people. The human rights movement can move ahead only by greater participation and involvement by the people. Now that the ruling classes all over the world have united, especially when poor countries like India have relinquished the dream of rebuilding their nation as well as their pride, the people must come out to show their understanding of their rulers. Our ruling class is not our supporter or partner in this war over democracy and human rights. Therefore, accepting their reasoning is equivalent to giving them the opportunity to "take advantage of us."

Many developing countries including India believe that citizen and political rights are useless without economic rights. Human rights should be viewed as a whole and these should encompass economic, social, and cultural rights. These countries declare that the Western nations have adopted a one-sided attitude, and have given importance to political and social rights only, ignoring all other rights.

This argument of the developing countries can be accepted on condition that they continue to proactively protect human rights and establish a fair economic system on international standards. However, on both fronts they are not doing this. They are raising this question to hide their tyranny, police brutality, and oppression of religious, cultural, and linguistic minorities, and the desires of the people. What could be the logic between their bringing up cultural value whenever the question of human rights is raised, and at the same time, of accepting Western consumer culture? Again, how can one accept that any person or group is oppressed by the government and that people are killed without the benefit of legal process, rapes are committed, and all of this is acceptable just because the people are residents of a country in Asia or Africa? How can basic human rights be different because of cultural, religious, or historical differences? That is why industrialized nations cannot accept a definition of human rights within the framework of cultural differences. The concept of human rights is universal, and it should be accepted as such. This does not mean that we have to accept Western logic. Instead, this is a prerequisite for protecting human rights and having a society based on justice and equality in our own country.

There will be two other major issues in the Vienna Conference: terrorism and women's rights. India has argued that the real violators of human rights are terrorists. When the terrorists interrupt the process of citizens living peacefully, the government has to take strict action. In this process, they commit "extremist actions." In preparation for the Vienna Conference, a meeting of

Asian nation was held in Bangkok, and India was successful in adding a paragraph to the communique prepared at the meeting. The paragraph states, "Terrorism, in its various forms and expressions, has emerged as the greatest danger to human rights and democracy." In the past few years, nongovernment human rights organizations have continuously blamed the Indian Government for the deaths of people in Punjab, Kashmir, the Narmada Valley, and areas affected by the Naxalites during the last decade. Since the government is not taking any democratic initiatives on this issue, it is starting a well-organized campaign against the human rights organizations. This principle was invented as part of the campaign. But where are the roots of terrorism? Are social and economic inequity, cultural and religious injustice, and political tyranny playing any part in it? If terrorism is a danger to human rights, then we must answer these questions and also decide who is responsible for terrorism. It does not matter how successful India is on this issue in the Vienna Conference. We cannot benefit from this issue in our own country. There is minimal hope that India will be able to maintain its democratic pride in the world community by using this approach.

Islamic countries, especially Iran, have raised separate voices over the question of women's rights. They argue that women's rights should be decided within the framework of a country's culture. By talking about the whole world, the Western nations are actually forcing their culture on other countries. It is possible that Iran will be able to get a lot of support on this issue. If the Western nations are forcing their culture, though, then why do the other countries not have an open debate on it? Why do they not present their ideas about women's rights, in which women and men have equal rights, and which keep both men and women away from Western consumerism? The reason is that the governments of these developing countries do not believe in human rights and women's rights, and their interests are protected by maintaining the status quo. That is why they do not want to take the initiative. On the other hand, they are raising the question of cultural identity to protect the society from false priests, fundamentalism, and tyranny.

The fact is that by not adopting a clear and logical attitude on this issue, the governments of developing countries are making the task of Western nations easier. If they form an explicit attitude, then they can unmask the Western nations' hypocrisy over human rights. Then it will not be them, but the Western nations, who will feel guilty. Then the definition of human rights can be given in the prevalent social-economic context, and Western governments will be forced to adopt a defensive attitude about this project. However, the present governments of the developing countries have made Western capitalist consumerism their ideal. At this time, they are forced to adopt a defensive attitude in front of Western reasoning and are presenting baseless explanations in order to muddle the issue. This will not make any difference. They have to follow whatever agenda the West decides on.

The people who are genuinely worried about human rights and democracy are worried by this situation, especially that of the poorer countries. They have the governments of the Western countries and their own countries, and they face the challenge of unmasking their real desires. They must transform the human rights campaign into a widespread people's campaign. The fact is that the human rights campaign is limited to the upper and middle classes in the cities. Until the people join it in large numbers, they are not in a position to face the challenges posed by the governments.

The challenge at present is how to protect the sovereignty of poor nations from Western attacks and, at the same time, how to guarantee the protection of human rights. To this end, nongovernment human rights organizations have demanded that a special human rights commission be established in the United Nations. They will raise this demand in Vienna again; however, this commission will only serve as a temporary measure. The main solution to protecting autonomy and human rights will have to be found within each society. There is no alternative but to continually make their local systems more and more democratic. The campaign to protect human rights must be combined with the democratic campaign. This must become a campaign for a widespread society and governmental system. The debate going on during the Vienna Conference can be made meaningful through it.

Increasing U.S. Pressure on Nuclear Issue Decried

93AS0925A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 8 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Shashanka Ray: "Pressure by the Clinton Administration has put India in a Dilemma"]

[Text] The Indian Government's decision to appoint a committee to discuss various options in the context of nuclear nonproliferation is an important step. According to informed sources, this is not a ceremonial committee. The group of experts has been formed and given the responsibility of recommending a policy that meets defense and political requirements. Some present and retired officials of the Nuclear Energy Commission and some nongovernment experts are included in this group.

It is not wrong to assume that the report presented by the Clinton government to the U.S. Congress will be kept in mind when this group of specialists makes its recommendations. Some aspects of the Clinton report are favorable to India, but others are opposed to it. The U.S. Government has accepted India's worries about its defense and the reality of China's presence. In the words of the report, India and Pakistan are suspicious of each other. The report also expresses concern about Pakistani support for India's separatist groups. At the same time, India is worried about China's designs. India's worries about China frustrates talks in this region. India has been worried about Islamabad's military relations with China for a long time. That is why India believes that China's approach is suspect in the areas of the region between

India and Pakistan and nuclear nonproliferation. India can be satisfied with the report of the new U.S. Government, because it has finally mentioned the Chinese threat. Still, it will not be easy to take care of the Clinton administration's insistence on having an agreement. For about two years, India had been trying to avoid U.S. demands through diplomatic efforts.

Keeping in mind the worries of the international community, U.S. popular opinion, and Pakistani diplomacy, the government has established this committee. Indian attitudes and the Clinton administration's stand are raising some conflicting questions over the issue of a Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. There have been reports that India will sign the NPT in 1993.

This report, which mentions India's agreement to abide by this treaty, mentions that after the conclusion of the Tarapur nuclear reactor agreement, India will sign the treaty. India has agreed not to blast nuclear bombs on principle, but at the same time, it has given assurances that it will not test medium range missiles such as Agni. The outline of the agreement will be expanded during bilateral talks in the future. President George Bush sent a letter to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao about the NPT. The U.S. Administration is happy with the new Indian attitude. It should be remembered that the Tarapur nuclear pact will end in 1993. India has enough plutonium to make 48 nuclear bombs. The Bush administration was worried about internal political pressures on India over the NPT signing. The U.S. Administration understands the problem the Narasimha Rao government is facing. The United States also considers India's worries about China's preparations to be valid. That is why India is not taking any action to accept pressure or to participate in a regional conference in one or two months.

All in all, India is trying to deal with U.S. worries and international beliefs through diplomatic channels. What is the Indian Government's policy? It can be understood in an interview the prime minister gave to a magazine recently. The prime minister said that India will not sign the NPT. He said that he supports worldwide disarmament, and not the belief that some countries should keep nuclear stockpiles, claiming it is important because of the need to control some recalcitrant countries in the Third World. Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's decision is firm; however, a firm decision or attitude cannot play a realistic role in international politics. Five years ago, in the atmosphere of regional tension and rivalry between the superpowers that existed, the NPT had some force behind it. The situation has changed now. The rivalry between the superpowers has ended. World politics has come out of the Cold War era and is entering the disarmament era. The superpowers have signed innumerable agreements to destroy their nuclear weapons stockpiles. The world is worried about destroying the nuclear stockpiles and about stopping the entry of new members to the nuclear club. The psychological atmosphere is against those countries that are

aiming to attain nuclear capabilities or are at the brink of establishing nuclear weapons stockpiles.

Therefore, India has to be prepared for talks. If it refuses to participate in talks, it will face difficulties in international diplomacy. India's situation has become complicated because of China and Pakistan's willingness [to sign the NPT]. It is important to reconsider Indian policy. India should try to stop Chinese and Pakistani nuclear programs while negotiating the signing of the NPT. Explaining the dangers from China, India can express its hesitation and force other countries to think about it. China has made many nuclear weapons, and it has not entered the sphere of the disarmament pact. The NATO organizations of Western nations and the Soviet bloc countries come within the sphere of nuclear disarmament. Therefore, they are cutting the number of nuclear weapons. China is not under any such restrictions. Therefore, India can argue that they must prepare China for disarmament.

The problem is that India's unwillingness to sign the treaty is associated with Pakistan's nuclear program, even though India's defense worries relate mostly to China. China is occupying Indian territory. During the seventies, China attained nuclear capability. This forced India to reconsider its policy. The fact is that India's nuclear program was accelerated after China attained its capability, and Pakistan became active in this area after India blasted its first nuclear bomb. In other words, in the South Asian region, the rivalry over nuclear capabilities was started by China. How can India accept a treaty between Pakistan and itself when the world leaves China out? This cannot happen without talks about disarming China. Yes, if China agrees to sign, then India can also reconsider its decision and be willing to sign the NPT.

U.S. Interference in Rocket Technology Transfer Attacked

93AS1036B Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali 5 Jul 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Is Space America's Property?"]

[Text] In our scripture the definition of education and knowledge has been given in this way: Whatever is free, spreads, expands and circulates is education. The spiritual teachers of ancient India realized that when knowledge and education become anyone's personal property it cannot remain knowledge anymore. It should be spread among the disciples and their followers in succession. He, who wants to cover up the solar region, is blind. As ancient India did not march on that path of ignorance, the world once experienced the brilliant grandeur of India's knowledge, science, and philosophy. It is needless to talk about the philosophy, because in this sphere India's supremacy is undisputable. In the field of science also the world recalls with respect today the contribution of the Indian scholars. In each field of

science—whether it is medicine, astronomy, mathematics, geology, or chemicals—have not the Indian scientists left the vigorous proof of their genius? This is the way the ancient Indian knowledge was flowed into the dark frontier regions of the world.

Only here does the difference lie in the learning between the East and the West. The West wants to keep knowledge and science secret from the people of the world and thus, veils the rays of knowledge. The Western world, bloated with the arrogance of being powerful with the might of industry and technology gives today, like charity to the beggars, negligible amounts of scientific know-how as their contribution to the Third World countries with conditions attached. This stingy attitude is more evident in the case of America, which is sitting at the helm of so-called civility. India was to get the transfer of cryogenic rocket engines and technology from Russia, but America was obstructing it from the very beginning. It was creating the tremendous pressure on both countries so that the related agreement on the transfer of cryogenic rocket engines and technology with Russia could be discarded. This narrow-minded attitude of the United States is absolutely reproachable. It only proves that America is scared of the Third World, especially India, and that is why the United States and its allies are continuously creating impediments to India's space program.

What will America gain from foiling India's space program? Whatever gain this narrow-minded Western nation sees is a gain for the time being. In U.S. psychology it is intolerable to see a poverty-stricken nation of the East, distressed with the burden of population, compete with it. But it is positive that one day the Indian scientists will humble the pride of the dollar-conceited America. It does not want to give that chance to India and, therefore, it is now actively engaged in the process of keeping the astronomically expensive technologies like the launching of rockets, stationing of satellites and so forth under its absolute control.

But is it possible to hide knowledge in this manner? Does anyone besides a stupid try to veil the Sun? By overcoming the temporary impediments India will one day secure the best place in the community of nations in space research. However, that could be a little delayed. But if America looks toward the distant future, it might find that such a thing would be profitable and not a loss to it. Like the earth, the space is also one and undivided. As environment, weather, sea, ocean, and earth are not the father's property of any person or nation, the same is applicable in the case of space also. A tremendous fuss has started today with the world environment, because Europe and America realized this fact a little late. A hole has been noticed at the upper ozone layer, green-house gas has increased in the air, and the seas and oceans—the wealth of the people of the world—have been polluted and the up roar of “being destroyed” and “save, save” were raised from all corners. Bill Clinton and his predecessor George Bush are having sleepless nights! But at least they know where the responsibility is for all these

things, whose industry and technology caused this disaster and even today is affecting Third World countries. Their advisers have realized today that the effects of environmental pollution in India will also fall on the U.S. territory. The pollution will increase further if the Indian economy is foiled and this vicious circle will move on uninterruptedly.

The same thing is applicable in the case of space. The United States will repeat the same mistake if it thinks that space is its own property—it will be a repetition of the same history. The world renowned poet, Rabindranath Tagore, most probably wrote addressing the United States, “He will tie you down whom you push below, he will pull you back whom you keep behind.” America will have to march together with everyone, and there lies the overall wellbeing for the people of the world. India has never veiled its knowledge and has also never taken any aggressive step. Therefore, if India is a partner in the space research, it will be beneficial to the United States and also to the world. Thus, there should be an end to unhealthy competition in the sphere of science, narrow minds be broadened and education be free.

Amnesty Report Exposes U.S. ‘Moralistic Posture’

*BK2507071693 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
in English 12 Jul 93 p 11*

[Editorial: “U.S. Too!”]

[Text] The latest report of Amnesty International, which documents human rights violations the world over, is notable on two counts. For the sharp indictment of the United States, the so-called upholder of human rights, and for not sparing nongovernmental opposition forces for making mincemeat of human rights. The report has detailed case after case of serious violations of human rights by the U.S. administration and its law enforcement agencies. The image of the United States that emerges out of the report is no better than that of many tinpot regimes in Africa and Latin America. The administration cannot escape responsibility for some of the violations mentioned in the report by putting the blame on local government functionaries or portraying them as mere aberrations. In the case of Haitian asylum-seekers, who were intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard and were forcibly sent back to Haiti without giving them a hearing, the order came from none but the then President, Mr. George Bush. Of course, the U.S. record is not surprising as it by and large conforms to the trend Amnesty has recorded in its global survey of 161 countries. But why it attracts greater attention is because of the noise the U.S. had been making on human rights to deny countries like India their dues. The high moralistic posture of the U.S. thus stands exposed by Amnesty itself whose reports it often quotes to show the Third World countries in poor light.

Since the United States is an aid-giver, it could adopt a dualistic stand preaching human rights to the Third World and showing scant regard to such precepts when it comes to dealing with its own adversaries. The self-proclaimed human rights crusader that the United States is, it had no qualms in attacking Panama, kidnapping Noriega, committing atrocities in Vietnam and off and on bombing Baghdad to test its missile power. The kind of force it used against David Koresh to eliminate him and his religious sect is okay for the U.S. but not for India, which has to battle terrorists armed with state-of-the-art weapons. While the United States and other aid-givers in the West assert the principle of self-interest to abuse human rights they view Third World differently. For a change, Amnesty has not spared terrorist organisations in Kashmir, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and the north-east for taking law into their own hands and committing the worst forms of human rights violations against police personnel and their families. It is often these violations which provoke retributive action from the State forces. This is something which the apologists of the U.S. like Mr. John Malott, who had the cheeks to blame India for human rights violations in Kashmir and Punjab on his recent visit to New Delhi, cannot appreciate. What all this implies is that human rights issues have to be judged in a larger perspective.

Commentary Criticizes U.S. for Decision on Pakistan

*BK1707050093 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 0245 GMT 17 Jul 93*

[Commentary by Yash Narayan Roy of HINDUSTAN TIMES]

[Text] The high moralistic posture that the United States has taken and the image that it has sought to protect itself as a crusader against state terrorism stand thoroughly exposed by the Clinton administration's decision to drop Pakistan from the watch list of states supporting terrorism [sentence as heard]. It is indeed unfortunate that Washington should let Pakistan off the hook despite India's providing incontrovertible evidence from time to time to establish Pakistan as a sponsor of state terrorism. India has reason to feel indignant over the American decision. An External Affairs Ministry spokesman has rightly described the American decision as very strange because it is based not on objective facts, but on other policy considerations.

Washington had put Pakistan on the watch list for having extended official support to Khalistani and Kashmiri militants. There are statements of the U.S. Government itself on this subject based on its own information. Even some Islamic countries, notably Egypt, have accused Pakistan of sheltering and training terrorist elements indulging in acts of violence in other countries.

American Secretary of State Warren Christopher had hardly anything to say as to what precise proof Pakistan had provided to the Clinton administration that it no

longer foments terrorism in Kashmir. All that Mr. Christopher says is that Islamabad has taken a number of steps that appear to have responded to our concern about reports of official support for Kashmiri and other militants who committed terrorist acts against India.

The removal of the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan] chief who masterminded transborder terrorism appears to have led Washington to believe that Pakistan has had a change of heart. Of course, Washington is known for its dualistic stand on various issues that concern the Third World, including human rights. It has been making noise about countries like Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and North Korea sponsoring international terrorism. If India is a victim of Pakistani terrorism, it is okay. But if state terrorism is directed against Washington's strategic interests, then all hell breaks loose. Whether it is the issue of trade or the sale of Russian cryogenic rocket engines, the American policy has more often than not harmed Indian interests.

It appears that the Clinton administration has decided to bail out Pakistan because of its current political crisis. Washington's apparent objective is to help the civilian leaders over the present crisis. There is a danger of increased Pakistani support to militants in Kashmir. Washington's much-flaunted drive against state terrorism is indeed a charade.

Paper Laments Cancellation of Russian Rocket Engine Deal

*BK2507085193 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
19 Jul 93 p 8*

[Editorial: "Sombre Outlook for India"]

[Text] The lone superpower has finally forced its ex-rival to scuttle its deal on the transfer of Russian rocket engine technology to India. The precise terms of the U.S.-Russian agreement reached after arduous negotiations are yet to be divulged. There is, however, ample evidence that the United States has assured Russia that the way will now be open for it to secure a substantial part of the growing business in satellite services. Apparently, President Clinton clinched the issue at his meeting with Boris Yeltsin in Tokyo last week. After this, the Russian President found it expedient to go back on his commitment to India on the supply of rocket technology if not cryogenic engines meant for weather satellite programmes. The Indo-Russian contract does contain a provision for its termination in exceptional circumstances. A force majeure clause like this is a normal part of most commercial contracts. Moscow will cite the provision to defend its decision to renege on one part of the contract, that relating to transfer of technology. New Delhi, of course, knows that the deal has fallen prey essentially to the post-Cold War aggressive diplomacy of the United States. Its aim is to promote American commercial interests as well as to check the spread of missiles as a part of its nuclear nonproliferation policy. In the present case, Washington has undoubtedly a

major achievement to its credit inasmuch as it has virtually got Russia at long last to accept the obligations dictated by the controversial Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

The U.S.-Russian coup has confronted India with a grave challenge. It has to revise its strategy to ensure that its space programme does not suffer to the detriment of a wide range of crucial economic activities such as boosting agricultural production, flood and forest management, communication meteorology and satellite-based television and radio services. Although the sale of the contracted rocket engines will be affected by the U.S.-Russian accord only partially, the net loss to India as a result of this curtailment is yet to be ascertained. This country's space technology is reported to be well advanced. But the biggest constraint is paucity of funds especially for the further development of the technology.

Uninterrupted progress in this field is vital especially from the security point of view. There is no evidence of repeated U.S. concern over the supply of ballistic missiles by China to Saudi Arabia and M-11 missiles to Pakistan having had the desired effect. No government in New Delhi can disregard the threat posed by this environment. The United States flaunts the MTCR as though it were a magic wand certain to bring heavenly peace to earth. The reality facing India is so grim that it just cannot afford to fail to master the missile technology as soon as possible. Whatever the sacrifices involved, this objective must be achieved.

Article Criticizes U.S. Policy on MTCR

БК0408111593 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
in English 19 Jul 93 p 11

[Article By Jasjit Singh]

[Text] The Indo-Russian agreement on cryogenic engines and technology seems to have been flushed down the drain in Washington. The rationale apparently is the proliferation concerns of the United States for which the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) was created in 1987 by the United States and six of its allies in April 1987 with the ostensible purpose of controlling the proliferation of nuclear capable missiles. India needs cryogenic systems to launch its GSLV [Geostationary Launch Vehicle] which forms a critical element in our socio-economic developmental plans. Cryogenic technology offers a more cost-effective option for outer space launch of satellites.

The U.S. President, while announcing the MTCR on April 16, 1987 had stated that the seven allies had formulated the "guidelines to control the transfer of equipment and technology that could contribute to nuclear-capable missile". The guidelines accordingly go on to state that the "purpose of these guidelines is to limit the risk of nuclear proliferation by controlling transfers that could make a contribution to nuclear weapon delivery systems other than manned aircraft." (emphasis added). The United States has maintained

ever since that the cryogenic sale violates the MTCR guidelines; and hence the ban on ISRO [Indian Space Research Organization] since May 11, 1992, and the continuing pressures to have the contract cancelled, or modified. The basic question, therefore, is: does the ISRO-GLAVKOSMOS contract violate the MTCR guidelines?

The nature of cryogenic technology, the requirement of infrastructure, and the time taken to prepare a launch vehicle make this technology completely useless for any conceivable military purpose as a ballistic missile. Russian authorities have repeatedly offered to have the contract examined by international experts to ascertain whether there are any military implications of the deal. But the United States or any other members of the group have not responded so far. U.S. Under Secretary of State for International Security, Mr. Reginald Bartholomew, had raised the matter with Defence Minister Sharad Pawar during the latter's visit to the United States in April, 1992. Mr. Bartholomew was assured that the rocket was meant to boost a satellite into geostationary orbit.

According to reports from Washington, Mr. Bartholomew had then agreed that the rocket was intended for non-military use; but had asserted that the deal still fell under the ambit of the MTCR. The U.S. State Department spokesman had reiterated on May 11, 1992, that MTCR forbids the sale regardless of whether the rocket engines were to be used for peaceful purposes or not. This approach grows out of a gross misreading of the MTCR guidelines. As pointed out above the MTCR forbids only such missiles (and technologies) that could contribute to "nuclear delivery systems". Cryogenic engines and technologies have no rational military utility in conventional or nuclear missiles.

On the other hand the U.S. President, while announcing the MTCR, had clearly assured that it was the "continuing aim of the United States Government to encourage international cooperation in the peaceful use of modern technology, including in the field of space. The (MTCR) Guidelines are not intended to impede this objective. [no close quotation marks as published] But impeding the objective of peaceful cooperation in space is exactly what the United States is doing through its sanctions against ISRO and the follow-on pressures. The United States, therefore, was on extremely dubious grounds in invoking the MTCR to start with. But its sanctions against ISRO and pressures for blocking the Indo-Russian contract are in direct violation of the MTCR itself and negation of the objectives set out so clearly by the U.S. President.

There is another fundamental point. The United States has sought to justify the sanctions under the authority of its national laws—the key one in this case being the Missile Technology Act of 1990 as part of the National Defence Authorisation Act FY [fiscal year] 1990-91. Should national laws override international agreements? This is more relevant since the MTCR, which is the trigger for the U.S. national laws and sanctions against

ISRO is neither a treaty, nor an international regime. It is basically being used arbitrarily for other political ends.

Unfortunately, there are glaring inconsistencies in U.S. policies on the subject. The MTCR guidelines came into force in 1987. But the United States took no action when China supplied 30 launchers and over sixty 2700-km range CSS-2 nuclear-capable missiles from the following year onwards. More recently, the CIA director testified (January 1992) that Saudi Arabia was expanding its CSS-2 missile support facilities. China has transferred M-11 missiles and technologies to Pakistan as per official U.S. sources. U.S. intelligence reports (January 1992) indicated that China had supplied guidance units (an MTCR prohibited item) usable in M-11 missiles to Pakistan. Pakistan is reportedly developing the 600-km range Hatf-3 missile based on the Chinese M-9 missile and/or French technology. The United States had imposed sanctions on China and Pakistan on June 23, 1991 under the MTCR for a two-year period. The sanctions against China were lifted in February 1992 after China promised to be an 'adherent' while those on Pakistan continued. Curiously, the sanctions against Pakistan have allowed to lapse at the end of the two-year period in June last. Saudi Arabia continues to upgrade its nuclear-capable long-range ballistic missiles with Chinese assistance right under American noses without having to pay a penalty.

We need to try and ascertain U.S. objectives in this apparently incoherent and paradoxical behaviour. It is easy to arrive at a conclusion that the U.S. imposed a ban and is following up with pressure due to commercial considerations. However, the real reasons may go well beyond that.

In one respect the U.S. pressure is Russia-centred, and we just happen to be in the slipstream. Russia has been pressing for a full MTCR 'participant' status for quite some time. Imposing sanctions under MTCR helps to deny Russia that status. More important, U.S. stated strategy after the end of Cold War is to try and ensure that a rival power does not emerge to challenge U.S. position and interests. The whittling down of Russian power would naturally remain a major priority, even if some Russians don't grasp the reality. U.S. Freedom Support Act 1992 had linked American aid to Russia to its refusal to sell arms to countries like Iran and China. At the same time, the United States would like to penetrate Russian space R&D and at the same time, draw benefits from it. Russian leadership seems willing to renege from its agreement with India in the hope of sustaining its space industry. Indo-Russian contract seems to have become a pawn in strategy game both countries are playing.

Press reports from Moscow suggest that the cryogenic contract may be modified to include assurances to "observe in principle" the MTCR guidelines. This implies a backdoor entry to MTCR 'adherent' status. If at all, we should negotiate the issue with the United States. But being an adherent does not in any way serve

our interests, but binds us to the rules and interpretations of MTCR by the United States and other members. On the other hand we should offer to become a full member (as 'participant'). Missile proliferation is highly destabilising, and a threat to our security. We must, therefore seek the abolition of ballistic missiles worldwide. As a starting step, the INF Treaty needs to be universalised. Meanwhile, we have no option but to expedite the development of our Agni missiles. But this has no relationship with ISRO and the cryogenic contract.

One can sympathise with Russia in its predicaments. But we need to press for honouring the agreement in its original form. It may be recalled that the settlement of old Soviet credits on terms favourable to Russia in January last no doubt took into account the willingness of Russia to honour its contractual obligations and the strong partnership relationship that President Yeltsin promised in so eloquently in New Delhi. Failure to honour the cryogenic contract would raise demands in India for a review of existing agreements, including the issue of old credits. The U.S. role in pressuring Russia to renege from its contract would have an inevitable fallout on Indo-U.S. relations, especially since the real motives are unclear. One hopes that the U.S. recognises that the effect of its policy would be to retard India's socio-economic development and growth. This could hardly benefit the United States. On our part we will need to reassess our options. We need to get down to more rapid development of indigenous capabilities. This will require money and time. The most important lesson of the sordid developments is the importance of self-reliance.

Regional Affairs

Islamic Fundamentalism Alters Relation With Bangladesh

93AS0904A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
28, 29 May 93

[Article by Manash Ghosh: "Dhaka View I & II: The Rise of the Fundamentalist"]

[28 May p 8]

[Text] Except for a brief interregnum during the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit, Begum Khaleda Zia's 27-month-old BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] Government has been under constant siege with industrial strikes, gheraos, hartals. There are doubts about the popularly elected Government being able to last its full term until 1996. Not all this is of the BNP's making, much is on account of past misrule and Opposition intransigence. But the BNP's own misdirected programmes have contributed to the polarization of the Bangladesh society and the politics of consensus has given way to the Begum's partisan

style of functioning, bringing her to a headlong confrontation with those who cherish the ideals of the liberation war.

To the legion of Bangladeshi freedom fighters, the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] policy to strengthen the Muslim fundamentalist groups including the Jamaat-I-Islam [JI], by sharing State power has been anathema. The fundamentalists' role forms a sordid saga of the liberation war and evokes hostility among the ordinary Bangladeshi. But the BNP has been persistently courting the fundamentalists to checkmate the secular, nationalist and patriotic forces. With Begum Zia assuming the reins of power this process has been expedited.

People's Enemy

"Nearly half of the 40 BNP Ministers are known Razakars who had actively worked for the Pakistanis in opposing our liberation struggle," said the Awami League chief, Mrs Hasina Wazed, also the leader of the Opposition. Having come to power with the support of Jamaat-I-Islam, the Government is out to destroy all the vestiges of the liberation struggle, laments Mrs Wazed. Making Gholam Azam, a Pakistani citizen, the "Amir" or head of Jamaat in late 1991 had added to these fears. For, Mr Azam had, with the help of the Pakistani army and his own killer groups—Al Razakar and Al Badr—masterminded the genocide for which Sheikh Mujib declared him an enemy of the nation and stripped him of his Bangladesh citizenship in 1973.

Mr Azam, allowed to return in 1978 by the late president Ziaur Rahman, lay low for 14 years, while he quietly manoeuvred the Jamaat into a formidable political force and was instrumental in forging an alliance with the BNP during the 1991 parliamentary poll. It was with the support of Jamaat M.Ps that Begum Zia could form her Government. The "restoration" of Bangladeshi citizenship to Azam was the price that was asked for. But overnight a National Anti-Fundamentalist Committee was formed—comprising the entire Opposition including the Awami League, freedom fighters and intellectuals—which demanded Azam's trial for war crimes instead.

The BNP Government was not to be moved, however, as it considered the Azam issue "old and irrelevant." The committee retaliated by trying him in absentia and sentencing him to death before a massive crowd on Dhaka's Suhrawardy Udyan. Under pressure, the Government arrested the 70-year-old "Amir" for violating the Citizenship Act. Later, it even entered into a written agreement with the Awami League for trying Azam. This has not yet materialized, forcing a fresh round of turmoil, in which freedom fighters have been attacked and some even charged with high treason.

Even intellectuals sympathetic to Begum Zia are critical of the treatment meted out to freedom fighters. That she should herself take recourse to undemocratic methods to deal with freedom fighters and her political opponents having come to power through nine years of struggle

against autocracy, has shocked them. First came police action against the Awami League-sponsored festivities in Dhaka on the Bengali new year's day. Then the decision to deny Government advertisements to a leading Dhaka daily for publishing critical reports on the recent communal violence in Bhola.

There is also dismay over the manner in which the roles of leaders such as Sheikh Mujib and General M.A.G. Osmany in the liberation war are being played down. But what has outraged the nationalist sentiment is the discontinuance of the practice by the President and the Prime Minister to pay respect at the National Martyrs' Memorial at Savar on Independence Day and of the traditional military parade.

Since both March 26 and the Savar memorial are reminders of Pakistani oppression and arouse anti-Pakistani and anti-Jamaat sentiment, the BNP Government wants to play them down, something that has even embarrassed the small group of freedom fighters in the BNP, led by the Labour Minister Mr Mannan Bhuyan and retired Colonel Akbar Hossain, M.P.

The fact remains that while a pro-Pakistan and pro-fundamentalist line, which is also anti-India, is electorally paying, stretching this line too far has the potential to jeopardize the BNP's own interest, by obliterating its differences with the fundamentalist. Also, there is concern within the BNP about the emergence of groups such as the Islami Sashantantra Andolan and Ahle Sumal Wal Jamayat, even more fanatical than the Jamaat, gaining strength.

Economic Mess

Added to the fundamentalist factor is the perceived economic failure of the BNP rule. It has been unable to turn around the economy even with a bumper rice harvest of 10 million tons, which pushed this year's gross domestic product growth from four per cent to five per cent and after foreign donors have underwritten much of the Government's development projects. With little political challenge—Mrs Hasina Wazed is in no mood to dislodge the BNP and with the ousted President Mr H. M. Ershad still in jail—Begum Khaleda Zia was expected to focus on economic issues. But her lack of administrative experience and her inability to coordinate the process of decisionmaking, has led to the image of her being indecisive. Decisions on projects do not materialize, foreign aid of \$5.5 billion is unused, while the Prime Minister confuses everyone with her sense of direction.

The Home Secretary, Mr Azimuddin Ahmed, was sent to a punishment posting after she came to power but brought back after 20 months to the key job when he had only seven months left for retirement. The appointment of a retired Brigadier for the post of National Security Intelligence chief too became controversial as the incumbent had been in private business for over a decade prior to his posting. Begum Zia's earlier effort to install him as the Director General of Anti-Corruption Bureau had been blocked by the former acting President, Mr Justice

Shahbuddin Ahmed. There is also the whiff of a scandal in the \$14-million payment by the Government to an Italian pipeline company, Saipem, and the central trade unions are angry about the Government's failure to honour its wage and other commitments made more than a year ago.

Yes Men

With officers personally indebted to the Prime Minister for their position, the entire administration is geared to "serving the boss," and even Ministers are chary about suggesting independent courses of action. A major fall out has been the failure of the administration to establish new guidelines to break away from the dictatorial set up of her predecessor. Opponents say that the parliamentary system exists only in name while the country is ruled on the lines laid down by Ziaur Rahman and H. M. Ershad. As the Leader of Jatiya Sangshad, Begum Zia was present in the House for only four days during the recent 68-day winter session of Parliament, when she did not speak a word.

"She does not believe that her Government is accountable to the Sangshad as important Government decisions are announced through Presidential Ordinances even when the House is in session," according to Mrs Hasina Wazed. Understandably, not even her Ministers take the Sangshad seriously. Compounding this neglect of democratic institutions is the fear that Begum Zia is becoming more dependent on a section of the military top brass with whom she spends her first two hours every morning. The coterie has been selected by her and reveals the Begum's sense of insecurity, harboured ever since her husband's assassination.

This reliance on one group, some freedom fighters among them, has antagonized others such as the repatriates from Pakistan and the post-liberation recruits, the sons of the soil. Each vies with the other to get the upperhand in the command structure. This is hardly the best way to secure the institutional support of the entire military establishment, if that was the Begum's gameplan.

[29 May p 8]

[Text] On the industrial front, despite the structural adjustments programme, production is falling short of target in all sectors. Most nationalized units are plagued with unsold stocks and poor liquidity. The sluggish demand is made worse by smuggled goods and tariff and duty anomalies. Public sector corporations lose more than Taka 1,500 crores annually. The jute sector alone consumes an annual subsidy of Taka 600 crores.

The infrastructure sector fares no better. The power sector's losses are more than 42 per cent of the output, makes foreign donors refuse funds for power projects. Banks report 1,000 influential defaulters who are to pay back Taka 800 crores. All this and industrial insecurity

reflected in the killing of a well-known industrialist at his residence in Dhaka in broad daylight has taken a heavy toll of business confidence.

No Cooperation

The BNP leadership, of course, blames the Opposition, especially the Awami League, with its strikes and gheraos for much of its woes. Its position is that the league is not interested in cooperating with the party in power, so keen it is on disruptive politics. Mr Nazmul Huda, Minister in charge of Information, claims that the BNP has tried to reach a political understanding with the Awami League without any result.

It is a matter of some comfort to both Begum Zia and her party though that the Opposition's performance does nothing to inspire popular confidence. The Awami League is still unable to project itself as a cohesive political force capable of running the country better. Personality and ideological clashes haunt the leadership and further demoralization may be in store if one of its veteran leaders, Dr Kamal Hossain, forms a new party.

Party elders, known as "chachas" or uncles, have been sidelined and senior leaders such as Mr Tofael Ahmed and Mr Abdur Razzak have been promoted to redundant positions by being made members of the party presidium. They have no organizational responsibility although they have a wealth of experience in organizational work. Factional feuds in the party's student wing culminated in a shootout in Mrs Wazed's presence at a Chhatra League rally in Chittagong in January, leading to a 48-hour hartal in the port city.

Traditional Awami Leaguers too are getting disillusioned with the highhanded manner in which the affairs of the party are being conducted, especially at a time when there is growing disenchantment with the BNP. The League's mass base is still strong, it retained all the three parliamentary seats in the recent by-elections, but its ways are hardly conducive to the strengthening of support.

Other Opposition groups are in a worse state. The Left and secular parties—the Communist Party and NAP [National Awami Party]—are almost extinct, with many leaders and supporters joining either the ruling BNP or planning mergers with the proposed new party of Dr Kamal Hossain. The Leftists believe that some leaders have become opportunists and now tread the communal plank to win over the fundamentalists.

Begum Zia's other foe is the jailed H. M. Ershad's Jatiya Party. This is also being sought to be neutralized by the BNP through a carrot and stick policy to preclude it from teaming up with the Awami League against the BNP. The Begum is afraid of Ershad's money power and the sneaking sympathy he still enjoys among a section of the military and civil bureaucracy, as well as some Western donors. The French President has been discreetly exerting diplomatic pressure for securing Ershad's release. In fact, he would have pressed for his release had

Begum Zia gone on her official visit to Paris in March. Consequently, she perceives Ershad as a greater threat than the Awami League and deals with it harshly, getting its public meetings disrupted and putting its activists behind bars.

New Force

Dr Kamal Hossain—forced out of the Awami League to form a Democratic Forum with some senior Awami League leaders, Communists, academics, former diplomats and technocrats—is being egged on to form a full-fledged political party. This move is backed by some Western donors, NGOs as well as the country's military and civil bureaucracy, although many doubt whether he has the courage and stamina to survive the country's politics. Mrs Wazed does not want Dr Hossain's experiment to succeed, but his followers believe he was given no option. Her fondness for relatives and sycophants, who kept ground realities from her, resulted in poor nominations in the last elections. Because of this an almost certain victory was turned into defeat. Even with party elders no longer "blocking" her way she was unable to improve its organization, point out the veterans.

Among its other failures, the League has been unable to inspire confidence in the people that it is committed against terrorism and that, if voted back to power, it will be able to restore peace sooner than the BNP. Providing shelter to some dreaded anti-socials has further shaken public confidence, the explanation that such elements are needed to counter the BNP and the Jamaat's terrorism does not wash with the people who expect politics of principle and not violence from the party.

The most dramatic change in the Awami League is in its attitude towards India and the minorities in a bid to woo Muslim votes. It lost the last election because of its image of being pro-Hindu and a stooge of India—largely a BNP creation. While Awami League leaders affirm that their commitment to secularism is total, they point out that unlike in the past they cannot aid minorities for fear of losing more Muslim votes in future elections.

Not So Secular

Electorally, the party has paid very dearly for "carrying the burden of secularism on its shoulder," say analysts and sacrificing majority Muslim votes to secure eight per cent minority votes makes little sense. The Ayodhya incident has not helped matters, putting Bangladesh's secular forces on the defensive so much so that they fumbled as communal forces held sway during the recent violence that swept across large segments of rural Bangladesh. The Awami League parliamentarian, Mrs Matia Chowdhury, felt that the party's defeat in the January's civic poll in Mymensingh was because of its campaign of protection for temples.

Deserted both by the Awami League and the Left, minorities feel more insecure. The Government is yet to charge-sheet a single rioter and, in fact, does not even acknowledge that there was any communal violence in

the country. None of its Ministers visited any riot-affected area and no Government help was provided for rebuilding houses and temples as BNP leaders say that minorities have never voted for them.

The hapless minorities are, therefore, leaving the country in large numbers selling off their property for a song. Rubbing salt into the wound are policies such as the Bangladesh Bank's circular instructing commercial banks not to give loans to the minorities. Recruitment of minorities in Government jobs is minimal and the only people who inspire confidence in them are leaders like Mr Tofael Ahmed and leading Muslim artistes and intellectuals, who have braved all odds and stood by them during their darkest hour. But then they are too a minority!

Illegal Immigration Seen Cause of Riots in Manipur

93AS0899F New Delhi ORGANISER in English
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[Article by ORGANISER Reporters: "Bangladeshization: The Genesis of the Manipur Rioting"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Silchar—The riots that broke out between Manipuri Muslims known as Meitei Pangal and Meitei, the Hindu majority community, on the third of this month and spread like wild fire all along the Imphal valley culminating in about 150 deaths and injury to 300 persons were the outcome of the Centre's total passive role in preventing the Bangladeshisation of the north-east. In fact, regional print media has umpteen times highlighted the issue, pointing to the gradual but systematic infiltration of Bangladeshis who after upsetting the demographic structure of Assam are all set to take the tiny State of Manipur in their stride.

Many versions on the genesis of the bloodiest over confrontation in Manipur have been floated from official circles and carried by the print media. The most plausible was traced to a scuffle between a gun-runner and three members of an obscure insurgent group called the People's Republican Army (PRA) over some guns which they had ordered. The gun runner, on being threatened by the insurgents for his failure to deliver the guns, called for help from the nearby Muslim village and his people came to his aid. They beat up the insurgents who then retaliated after campaigning through the villages inhabited by Meiteis.

The gory event was so sudden that neither the intelligence nor the security agency had any inkling of it. Both the Centre and the State Government were put on a tight spot. Till a few days back ethnic clashes between the Nagas and the Kukis had claimed hundreds of lives in the State. The communal clash, the first of its kind in this State, has been described as 'unprecedented', 'unheard of' and 'unthought of'. But, those who have been

watching and worried over the ruling Cong-I Government's 'vote-banks' policy and resultant connivance at massive infiltration of Bangladeshis in Manipur are not surprised.

Indications of mounting tension were very much in evidence. Clashes had occurred and been contained, but the sparks had always been there to stoke the flame of passion. Jiribam, one of the Assembly constituencies of the State, opposite Barak Valley across the river Jiri, is fast turning into a haven of Bangladeshis who, after brief stay, move upwards and into the interior in splintered groups, quite surreptitiously. Their *modus operandi* is not in any way different from what is followed in the entire north-east. After crossing the border, they seek refuge in the hills and forests of Assam and then conveniently shift to Manipur. They are given shelter by the local Muslims in various areas. Continuous and reckless desecration of hills and forests stand witness to their silent invasion. After a few months of their stay, these Bangladeshis become Pangal Meiteis. Their swelling number besides adding to the population explosion has put pressure on land and created frictions on several occasions.

Lilong village on the other side of the river and 10 kilometres from Imphal, the scene of the origin of the riots this time, is dominated by Muslims. Meiteis school and college going girls have been subjected to the worst form of eve-teasing at the hands of the Muslim youths of the village and often the cause of acrimonious exchanges. The flash point of friction reached exactly a year ago when Meiteis were prevented from constructing a temple at Chingei Ching, a historical hillock in Thoubal district, 15 kms from Imphal. In ancient times, the hillock was used as a sanctuary by the women of Meitei royal family in the event of external invasions. Overnight Muslims settled around the area and claimed that the hillock was used by them as burial ground. Awestruck by the settlement, the Meiteis argued that the Muslims had vitiated the serenity and sanctity of the hills by their reckless encroachment. But the Muslims stood their ground and obstructed the construction of temple. Bruised and hurt, it was a bitter pill for the Meiteis to swallow.

Even the move of the Archaeological Survey of India to plan a monument at the site after some historical relics were discovered was resisted by the Muslims. Not far from Imphal is Sati Khongnang named after a Hindu wife who committed sati. A huge tree at the site came to be incarnated as Sati Khongnang. The place has become sacred to the Meiteis who wanted to construct and dedicate a temple to the woman there. But, some persons belonging to the minority community set the tree on fire recently. And in their brazen act of disrespect to Hindu religion, the Vishwanath temple, also known as Pashupati Mandir, in the vicinity of Imphal town was set on fire. The temple and the idols within were destroyed, spewing more venom. Near bloody confrontation ensued but did not snowball into major conflagration.

But the Meiteis were irked and incensed. A group of former militants formed an organisation called 'Poramlan Apunba' and decided to fight out and flush out the infiltrators. It called upon their brethren not to give shelter or employment to these Bangladeshis in shops, hotels and other establishments. The stand taken by the organisation sent hundreds of Bangladeshis off Manipur down Assam, their safest sanctuary.

Apprehending erosion of vote-banks, M.M. Jacob, the then Minister of State for Home, made unscheduled visit to Imphal. Subsequently, Biseshwar Singh, former People's Liberation Army (PLA) chief and the founder-mentor of 'Poramlan Apunba' was incarcerated along with some of his supporters for their drive against Bangladeshis. Encouraged by the Centre's policy, of patronisation of immigrants, a militant outfit called the United Islamic Liberation Army (UILA) cropped up in Manipur. Its existence came to light in July 1992 when a police man belonging to the Border Affairs Squad was attacked by UILA near a Muslim village in Imphal. UILA, according to competent sources at Imphal, is funded by Arab petro dollars through Bangladesh banks.

And quite significantly, Bangladesh Government sent clear signal to PLA extremists if Bangladeshis were disturbed or harassed in Manipur, it would be forced to close down all their eight training camps located at Chhotodhamai, Nayanpattan, Longal, Ramnagar, Ambarkhana, Adampur, Sonarupa Tea Estate and Bhanugach in Moulvi Bazar. Not content with the threat of winding up of the camps, Bangladesh Rifles handed over the three PLA extremists to Indian Border Security Force. This did have its desired impact. Faced with the discomfiture, 'Poramlan Apunba' sank into oblivion. The saddest part of the whole gameplan is that while Pakistan dictates its terms to secessionist and disruptive forces in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab, Bangladesh, a creation of India, is bolstering up all the extremist outfits of the north-east on condition of safety and security of Bangladeshis seeking refuge after crossing the borders.

And as the infiltrators have now the safest routes, gun-runners among them have a field day who are not only boosting up the striking power of the militant outfits but also of United Islamic Liberation Army. The chance flare up between the gun runner and the extremists has exposed the dangerous implication of the policy of the Central Government and the Cong-I ruled States of north-east on infiltration.

More shocking is the Paki High Commission Officials direct haranguing of the Manipur Government on disturbances, flouting norms of protocol. Pakistan Government has no moral right to dabble in the internal affairs of India after its direct involvement and connivance at the killing of Hindus and desecration of thousands of temples in its own country in the post Ayodhya developments.

And after all the clashes and killings, the visits of Pilots and Sayeeds, the talks and probes, the issue gets lost. The issue is Bangladeshisation of north-east. It is now for the people of north-east to address themselves to the issue by building up mass movement before the region is in the absolute coils of python of aliens, calling for plebiscite on the pattern of Jammu and Kashmir.

Kashmir Militancy Momentum Continues Unabated

Out of Control

93AS0901A New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
31 May 93 pp 37-44

[Article by Harinder Baweja: "Losing Control"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The vital parameters of governance—emotional, administrative, psychological, logistical, political—through which civilian authority is exercised over a people or territory, have been erased by Kashmir's fierce and tenaciously dogged determination to sever ties with India. The popularly-backed armed rebellion, now in its fourth year of blood and turbulence, still led by the fundamentalist pro-Pakistan Hizbul Mujahedin and the more moderate, pro-independence JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force], has reached a stage that has unnerved New Delhi as never before. And with compellingly urgent reasons.

Compared to just a year ago, every indicator shows a dramatic downslide. The people's mood—the most important barometer in measuring the depth and intensity of the revolt, especially in the aftermath of the Sopore carnage in January this year—is uglier, more bitter and pugnacious. Militancy, despite vicious crack-downs and the killings and arrests of leaders, has achieved successes previously unimaginable: heavily armed insurgents have for the first time established "liberated zones" in pockets of Baramulla, Srinagar and Anantnag districts which resemble fortified garrisons that even the Indian armed forces cannot enter. The state has witnessed its first ever police revolt.

This escalation is self-evident. While in 1990 there were only 36 paramilitary companies, today there are 300, and two more army divisions will be moving in this month. In three years, 3,438 civilians have been killed and 7,421 Kalashnikovs seized.

And the Indian Government finds itself, for the first time, hamstrung and even on the defensive because of the unexpected diplomatic heat from the international community. The Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC), in an unprecedented move, is threatening to impose cultural and economic restrictions on India. And the U.S. Congress is regularly raising its voice against human rights violations in Kashmir.

While New Delhi sees-saws between the "hard line" and the "soft line" the secessionists, through bombings,

murders, kidnappings and with the aid of newly acquired sophisticated weaponry like armour-piercing rockets and light machine guns—in addition to the ubiquitous Kalashnikovs—have broadened their areas of operation into the Jammu region.

The current phase of armed militancy is a benchmark in developments in the valley that have alternated between calm, drift, dashed expectations and violence. The turbulence that led to G. M. Shah's dismissal in 1986 was followed by a nine-month period of effective governance and anti-corruption measures under governor Jagmohan that held the people in thrall. Their optimistic mood turned rebellious starting with the rigging of the 1987 elections, and during the next two years as repression became the Farooq government's policy, the rebels began crossing into Pakistan and arming themselves. When Jagmohan began his second tenure as governor the rebellion had turned into a mass separatist movement with its propagandists branding Jagmohan as the face of Hindu repression. His replacement with G. C. Saxena, who carried out the same policies, but in a less flamboyant manner, led to a purely law-and-order era with no new political or administrative initiatives while the masses remained sullen.

Ironically, the militants began consolidating their position in mid-February following Union Minister of State for Internal Security Rajesh Pilot's advocacy of the "soft line" which translates into the security forces holding their fire to whatever extent possible and desisting from random search-and-seizure operations involving non-militants. This approach followed Pilot's visit to the apple-town of Sopore, 50 km north of Srinagar.

Sopore had witnessed the killing of at least 50 people by the BSF [Border Security Force] and the razing of 250 shops in retaliation against a handgrenade attack on a BSF platoon in which two jawans were injured. Incensed at not being able to evacuate their injured colleagues, the BSF had retaliated not just in panic but out of vengeance.

The "soft" line has actually confused the security forces on the ground and so far has had no impact on militancy. The militants, in fact, have intensified the strategy so successfully used by the PLO in Beirut: open fire on the security forces and force them to retaliate. In the cross-fire that ensues, innocent bystanders will get killed. The killings will strengthen the Kashmiris' resolve to support the militants in their fight for *azadi* and increase their hatred for India. "Our fight is with the security forces and we will make them surrender in front of the community," boasts Hizbul area commander Yusuf Salim.

As a tactic to consolidate urban insurgency, there cannot be a more vicious circle. Fire, so it leads to more firing, more mobs and more martyrs. And more cries of "Indian dogs go home." In this hairtrigger situation, India's real grip over the Valley, as midsummer approaches, is purely military. It is simply holding on. No more.

Tentacles of Militancy

"Liberated Zones" Pose a Hurdle

The "Indian dogs" have not left. Far from it. But they have retreated for the first time in four years and this is being acclaimed as a major victory by the militants who proudly proclaim Sopore to be their *rajdhani*. Completely under the command and sway of the Hizbul Mujahedin, Sopore's new nomenclature is even accorded to be senior government officials. According to intelligence reports, the apple town, which has an estimated population of one lakh now, also houses around 500 battle-hardened Afghans and a few Sudanese who are boosting the already high morale of at least 1,500 to 2,000 armed militants who walk the streets openly brandishing their AK-47 Chinese assault rifles, wireless sets in hand.

The Indian Army, which tried to enter the town last month for a cordon and search operation, was forced to withdraw, for as soon as a column entered the city, it came under heavy firing that left one officer and two jawans dead. The armymen, in fact, were forced to leave their vehicles and flee. The militants immediately took over, picked up a self loading rifle from the commanding officer's abandoned vehicle and also the video camera and some maps. Soon, all these items were displayed in the open market area and scores of people came to see the exhibition. In an unprecedented celebration of defiance, people mobbed the streets hugging and congratulating the militants. Within four days of this, a BSF [Border Security Forces] picket came under attack and in the retaliatory fire that followed, six students including a young girl were killed. The students were taking out a procession protesting against the telecast of the controversial serial, *Bible ki Kahaniyan*.

Similar zones have sprouted in Anantnag district, known as *chhota* Pakistan because it has been the hotbed of Jamaat fundamentalism and is Hizbul headquarters, and the Nagin and Idgah areas of Srinagar. And the frequency of similar incidents is increasing. During the last week of April the army cordoned off the Hazrat Bal area of Srinagar and engaged the militants in a firefight. The militants, housed in the precincts of the mosque, came out half an hour later, not in surrender but in celebration. The former adviser (law and order) Lt-General D. D. Saklani, in a last minute decision, asked the troops to withdraw for fear that entry into or firing towards the mosque could lead to a major flare-up.

As a senior security official summed it up: "We're in a bind. If you enter the mosque, you offend sensibilities and if you don't, the militants claim it as a victory. If you as much as send a soft signal, it works against you and if you hit them hard, you end up facing an inquiry for committing excesses."

The group that has taken the most advantage of this atmosphere of uncertainty is the Hizbul Mujahedin. The pro-independence JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force], though keeping its popularity intact, has lost its

military edge to this rabidly fundamentalist pro-Pakistan group. The Hizbul has gained not only in terms of sheer numbers but its members are also now better trained and have better quality weapons—grenade rifles with which rockets can be fired, poisonous bullets and 2 inch mortars. More frightening, the Hizbul has now adopted the new strategy of using women and children as human shields. If the security forces cordon off the entire town—which is what will be needed to take control of Sopore—they will first have to come face to face with women chanting pro-independence slogans. Undoubtedly, the operation, as the security forces also admit, cannot be carried out without heavy civilian casualties. And if it is not undertaken, Sopore will continue to be called the militant *rajdhani* and stick out as a symbol of Indian defeat.

Centre's New Tap Dance

Military Strategy With a Civilian Face

New Delhi has realised that drift is the worst answer to the growing militancy as well as the confusion among security personnel about what their mission is and who calls the shots in the chain of command among the various military and paramilitary units. In a situation like this even a show of initiative, any display of a sense of urgency, is preferable to floundering.

So it was left to Pilot last fortnight to fly to Srinagar for a high-level military conference at the city's Badami Bagh Cantonment. Also present were the Chief of Army Staff, General S. F. Rodrigues, and the director-general of the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] and the BSF who had already flown in a day earlier. Closeted in the army's Operations Room, the chiefs began to shape plans for meeting the new threats posed by the growing militancy. High on the agenda was shaping a new unified command structure which was discussed the following day with the new Governor, General K. V. Krishna Rao.

Streamlining this coordination is critical. One of the biggest problems that has plagued security operations in the Valley is the utter lack of communication and working relationships between the CRPF, BSF, ITBP [Indo-Tibetan Border Police], the army and the local police. The relationship between these security units has been vitiated by competing egos, and tensions between senior ranking IGS [expansion not given] and DGPS [expansion not given] have often paralysed decision-making. Under the new structure, which is admittedly still creaky because it has to be fine-tuned, all rural areas are to be handed over to the army, under the supervision of Lt-General Surinder Nath, the corps commander. Srinagar is to remain under the charge of the BSF with Lt-General M. A. Zaki, adviser, law and order, who has flown back for a second term.

In the new administrative dispensation in which the "human face" will be stressed, Governor Rao will also be assisted by two IAS [Indian Administrative Service] Kashmir cadre officers, Ashok Jaitley and Wajahat

Habibullah. The new team has been chosen with a specific purpose. Psychologically, Rao presents the military face of India but enjoys the reputation of a fair and chivalrous soldier who does not retreat but will treat his adversary with honour. During his brief stint as governor during the first few months of V. P. Singh's prime ministership he won a measure of popular sympathy by releasing several militants from custody against whom no charges had been proven.

Zaki is actually a hardliner and believes in tough action but with a gentle touch. He is a devout Muslim who performs namaz five times a day and doesn't touch liquor. When he was in charge of military operations in Kashmir during governor Jagmohan's tenure, he won the grudging admiration of the militants by referring to the Quran's advice that a good Muslim must be loyal to his country. Zaki also constantly reminded the militants of Kashmir's accession to India. In fact, during flushing-out operations he would remind militants over a loud-speaker about the un-Islamic ways they were adopting.

Jaitley, as an old Kashmir hand and Farooq Abdullah's blue-eyed bureaucrat, is associated with the extreme liberal line on Kashmir and has the sympathy of various civil liberties groups which have access to Kashmiri militants. The task, says Jaitley, is to "win over the minds and hearts of the people." Habibullah, who has been away from Kashmir for several years, has been known to be critical in private of the Jagmohan regime and is expected to strike a rapport with anti-Jagmohan sentiments in the Valley.

The administration, as the governor admits (see interview) has suffered a serious set-back. And he is now determined to set the stage for elections. And in typical spit-and-polish army style he has spelt out a four-point plan on how he aims to achieve this: One, stop random combing operations that alienate innocent civilians. Two, make the administration more responsive to people's grievances against government or security forces. Three, emphasise to the people that the ultimate choice is theirs—continue armed militancy and face retaliation by the security forces or talk about a settlement. Four, pave the way for grassroots politicians to start communicating with the people.

Says Habibullah who will be reaching Srinagar shortly as commissioner: "I see this as the last battle for the people of Kashmir. The problem is that the people don't want to be ruled. There is not even passive acquiescence."

The new team is expected to project the "human face" by telling the people that their aim is to minimise harm to civilian lives and property, establish closer contact with the locals, redress their grievances, address human rights issues and reopen closed factories.

But this is a task easier envisaged than carried out. Apart from the fact that the local people want India to leave them alone, the administration itself is riven with rivalry and jealousy. It is common knowledge that the state's Chief Secretary Sheikh Ghulam Rasool and Ashok

Jaitley don't see eye to eye. Not surprising then that Kashmir observers are already asking: "Are you reviving the administration or are you crippling it?" The governor has personally been touring all districts of the Kashmir Valley and the Jammu region trying to explain to the people that the misguided youth are taking them for a ride at Pakistan's behest. What gains in currency, however, is not government propaganda but reports brought out by human rights groups like Asia Watch Physicians for Human Rights. Its latest report titled *Rape in Kashmir, A Crime of War* has spread like wildfire through different districts and people are quoting extracts from the report. Highly exaggerated and implausible as it may read, the Kashmiris are completely convinced about its credibility. The degree of alienation, in fact, can be judged from the manner in which every person of every *mohalla* says: "The report has proved that the security forces have orders from their officers to rape our sisters and daughters."

Governor Rao has a tough row to hoe. He is not the kind of manipulative politician so necessary to understanding and controlling the snakepit that is Kashmir's bureaucracy. And he is also regarded by militants as a weak man who agreed to the release of known militants in exchange for Rubaiya Sayeed's release. Jaitley is too closely identified with Farooq who is still mistrusted in the Valley, while Habibullah will be returning at a time when militancy has picked up.

Looking for a Way Out

An Array of Misplaced Hopes

In Kashmir, one thing is as certain as death and taxes: India will not easily let go, international and militant pressures notwithstanding. Any government or party that does so will destroy itself. And there is a broad consensus in India that if Kashmir is given independence or allowed to join Pakistan because it has a Muslim majority, it will be tantamount to conceding the idea of religious states, and sounding the death-knell of Indian secularism. So, while India may not be able to control Kashmir, there is little doubt that India will be able to hold on to it no matter what it takes militarily.

When Kashmiri militants make emotional appeals for *azadi* at any cost they ignore this vital Indian compulsion. They also ignore India's history in dealing with near-debilitating bouts of insurgency in the North-east and in Punjab which conventional wisdom said could never be solved. The Indian state has shown as cussed and tenacious a staying power as any militant movement.

Besides, everything is not always the way it looks in Kashmir. Right now the mood is militant and separatist. But there have been periods in Kashmir, as when the Congress' G. M. Sadiq was chief minister in the mid-'60s, and even in the mid-'80s, right up to the rigged 1987 election, when the mood in the Valley was not anti-Indian or even separatist. Pakistan had been able to

make headway among the Jamaat-i-Islami (which now sponsors the Hizbul Mujahedin) but the Jamaat's influence had always been marginal because Kashmir's dominant tolerant Sufism rejected Jamaati fundamentalism. In fact, after Bhutto's hanging in Pakistan, the Kashmiris turned on Jamaatis in the Valley because they blamed the fundamentalists for the hanging. So the virulent anti-Indian wave sweeping the Valley could well have ups and downs as in the past.

In addition, there is an ethnic dilemma that most Kashmiris will admit to only in private. The ruling elite of Kashmir as well as the bulk of the militant movement is Kashmiri speaking and will be reduced to a minority within the state if it becomes an independent entity encompassing the border areas of Jammu and what is now POK because most of the Muslims in those regions are Gujjars, Pahadis and Rajputs. But even an independent Kashmir of those dimensions is a pipe dream because Pakistan is highly unlikely to let go of POK, and the Muslims of the Jammu region by and large are not sympathetic to the Kashmiri struggle in the Valley.

As far as international pressures are concerned, the human rights platform serves, at the most, to tie the hands of the security forces and perhaps, acts as an incentive for them to act more humanely. The U.S. has also said that the Kashmir question should be thrashed out under the Shimla accord and it has not been deaf to India's plea that Pakistan is supporting terrorist groups in the Valley. Ultimately, the U.S. will look for a balanced approach rather than twisting India's arm to quit Kashmir unilaterally.

Given these circumstances, the odds in New Delhi are that sooner or later the political process will have to be started in the Valley. But the hopes of Pilot and Krishna Rao that elections can be held within the next few months are the stuff fancy dreams are made of. Pilot believes that harping on elections will help the situation in Kashmir just as it did in Punjab. But, Kashmir is not Punjab where there was no real separatist movement and where terrorism ultimately was mostly for criminal profit. In Kashmir, though small sections are upset with the militants for they too have been indulging in extortion and crimes against women, the feeling is restricted. Besides, anger against the militants in no way reduces the current hatred against India.

But Pilot's strategy is to woo the pro-independence forces disenchanted with Pakistan and help them take on the Hizbul Mujahedin. The gameplan is—talk to the JKLF, promise to support them at the hustings, arm them and give them men and money. But the strategy is too transparent, JKLF chief Javed Mir has spurned all offers for talks. He knows very well that now is not the time to negotiate, for if he does, especially at a time when the militants seem to be in control, he will lose all popular support and become branded a Delhi stooge.

Another reason for the Government's reasons to open channels with the JKLF is that massive numbers of its

adherents are former members of the National Conference. The idea is to win some of them over to support the political process with Farooq as an alternative leader. But Farooq sensing the mood in the Valley, is himself in no mood to play ball. He did not mince words when in an interview shortly after Krishna Rao reached Srinagar he said: "I will go once the administration is revitalised. The militants are out to kill me and I will risk neither my own life nor those of my workers."

The solution probably lies somewhere in between the calls for absolute *azadi* and the indefinite rule of the Indian gun. Journalist B. G. Verghese suggests that as a starter, India and Pakistan could begin negotiating on a package that would make both nations guarantors for a regionally autonomous Kashmir and an autonomous Jammu and Ladakh.

Politically, this option may falter at any number of stumbling blocks such as the reaction of Jammu's Hindus or even its Muslim Gujjars who harbour a traditional hatred for Pakistan. But the catchword is greater autonomy. Historically, the leaders of the Kashmiri independence movement, including Sheikh Abdullah, never wanted a merger with Pakistan. Their movement was largely fuelled by the desire to preserve *Kashmiriyat*, their special identity and way of life and politics.

No solution to the Kashmir problem can ignore this historical imperative. And the only initiative that will have even half a chance of scoring with the Valley's people will first have to convince them that India will not be bullied out of Kashmir by anybody, and that New Delhi will be the guarantor of *Kashmiriyat* and withdraw its forces if the militants lay down their arms. This will entail making sweeping reforms and concessions such as completely decentralising the Government except for foreign policy, defence and information and broadcasting. Obviously the concessions and negotiations will have to be made only after the Government re-establishes administrative control. It will be a small price to pay for keeping Kashmir rather than just holding on to it.

Anti-Indian Movement

93AS0901B New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
31 May 93 p 39

[JKLF Leader Javed Mir Interviewed by Harinder Baweja: "I will Not Sell Out"]

[Text] The 32-year old acting president of the pro-independence Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Javed Mir, is a wanted man. He is wanted not so much by the security forces as by the Minister of State for Internal Security, Rajesh Pilot, who wants to start secret talks with him in an effort to arm the JKLF and let it take on the pro-Pakistan militant groups. But Mir has refused to meet the minister, as he told Principal Correspondent Harinder Baweja at his Srinagar hide-out. Excerpts:

Q: Pilot is trying to bring some militant groups to the negotiating table. Will you participate?

A: Rajesh Pilot can make any plans he wants. We are fighting for the independence of Kashmir and its people. No political process can take place under the Indian Constitution. We've been telling both India and Pakistan to hold talks. We are ready for talks provided they are tripartite, held in a neutral country under the auspices of the United Nations or a guarantor.

Q: Pakistan is hardly helping you. If it were, it wouldn't have fired at the march led by your chairman, Amanullah Khan.

A: Half of Kashmir is with Pakistan. They at least give us moral and political support. What about India? You are forever doing things on your own without talking to us. What is the point in just changing governors?

Q: Why aren't you ready to hold talks? Isn't Pakistan only exploiting the Kashmiris to pursue its own interests?

A: Pakistan has floated its own groups in the Valley I am aware of that. We will fight Pakistan too if the need arises. India is our first enemy. Pakistan at least is not raping our women and setting fire to our homes. The Centre wants to hold talks under the Indian Constitution and that is not acceptable to us.

Q: Pilot seems keen to hold elections and probably sees you as the next chief minister.

A: Let him try and hold elections. The only elections that will be held here will be for independence. I have told you I am not willing to meet him. Or even S. B. Chavan or Narasimha Rao for that matter. We will talk to them when they agree that Kashmir is disputed territory.

Q: There is also a secret move on the Government's part to arm you and finance you so you take on the pro-Pakistan Hizbul Mujahedin?

A: The Hizbul Mujahedin is also fighting for freedom. Why should we fight them? Yes, we've had some differences but they have always been minor.

Q: But the Hizbul Mujahedin has become far stronger than you and has left the JKLF far behind.

A: Gun power is not the only thing that matters. The public is the most powerful weapon and it is on our side.

Security Efforts Continue

*93AS0901C New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
31 May 93 p 40*

[Kashmiri Governor K.V. Rao Interviewed by Harinder Baweja: "I'll Not Fail in Kashmir"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Former army chief General K. V. Krishna Rao is back in the Valley as governor for the second time.

Occupying the outpost in Srinagar, the dapper, soft-spoken 70-year-old Rao has returned at a time when Kashmir has taken a precipitous turn for the worse. In a two-hour interview with Principal Correspondent Harinder Baweja, Rao outlined his priorities, plans and perceptions. Excerpts:

Q: Don't you think Kashmir is a no-win situation at the moment?

A: I won't say it is a no-win situation though the militants have achieved considerable success. The administration is not able to function without the fear of the gun and the politicians too are not able to go out. The people are afraid and confused and don't know whom to support. But the situation, I think, can be brought under control.

Q: But the militants' strategy has always been to engage the forces and cause civilian casualties in the cross-fire.

A: Our orders to the security forces are to try not to retaliate but I can tell you it is not very pleasant to be in a bunker when a rocket is fired at you.

Q: Which means that the security forces would now be fighting with their hands tied behind their backs?

A: I am sure even my predecessors would not have said—just fire back. Retaliating is not the only answer, though I agree it is a constraint under which the forces will have to function.

Q: The feeling is that you have opted for a soft line.

A: My line is: be soft on the public and hard on the militants. My effort will be to get the co-operation of the people and reduce alienation.

Q: But this is easier said than done. The only form of government visible is in uniform.

A: Normally, it is the ministers who keep in touch with the public but here the administration has been under threat. There are also allegations of corruption and nepotism. I've told my officers to pull themselves up and provide a clean administration.

Q: Are you thinking in terms of holding elections?

A: That is my aim. I have, after all, come here to restore normalcy. My task is to bring down militancy to a plane where this fear is removed.

Q: But the militants have now been joined by battle-hardened Afghans, besides being backed by Pakistan.

A: I will give the militants no respite. The militants know this and Pakistan too knows me very well. They know that I will be able to sort the problem out. If the militants feel that they have the public's support, let them give up the gun and take up the ballot. I have never failed in my career and I will not fail in Kashmir.

Q: Custodial deaths and human rights violations have become international issues.

A: I genuinely feel bad if torture leads to death. I belong to an army whose chivalry is well known. We even take enemy soldiers to our field hospitals. Where is the need to kill a militant when he is totally defenceless? I've told the forces to be careful. Custodial deaths will hurt my cause, so I have a vested interest in putting an end to them.

Q: What form of autonomy are you willing to concede?

A: Autonomy can be determined only after determining who the real elected representatives are. It is a matter which must be carefully discussed.

Q: Sopore has virtually come under militant control. Are you planning a flush-out operation?

A: We will decide when and how to tackle Sopore. Tackling Sopore won't finish militancy in the Valley, so that has to be borne in mind.

Q: Rajesh Pilot is making moves to try and have the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] take on the Hizbul Mujahedin.

A: Because of different aims and objectives, they have been fighting themselves. I am not aware of any deliberate move to encourage the JKLF.

Q: But do you think such a move should be made?

A: Well, if they're quarrelling amongst themselves, leave them alone. At least I won't get involved in this sort of thing.

Q: You are often described as Farooq Abdullah's man?

A: I am nobody's man. I am God's man.

Q: The popular view is that you are going to help bring Farooq back.

A: The aim is not to bring back any particular person but to hold free and fair elections. I don't care who wins so long as there is no rigging. In fact, if there is any pressure, I will quit because we cannot play with the sensibilities of the Kashmiris any longer.

Hindus Targeted in Jammu

93AS0901D New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English
31 May 93 pp 42-43

[Article by Ramesh Vinayak: "Resisting Militancy"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Even as militancy becomes entrenched in the Kashmir Valley, it has still not been able to secure a foothold in Jammu. With the exception of Doda district, the other five districts in the Jammu region have refused to sympathise with the militant movement despite its efforts to enlist public support.

While Udhampur and Kathua are Hindu majority districts, the Muslim majority Rajouri and Poonch are dominated by Rajput and Gujjar Muslims whose strident hostility towards the Kashmiri Muslims makes them reluctant to espouse the militant cause.

In Doda, ethnic affinity with the Kashmiri Muslims and geographical contiguity with the Valley have helped the rise of militancy. Its vast forest cover, hilly terrain and numerous escape routes through high passes have turned it into a favoured militant sanctuary. Though 300-odd Pakistani-trained militants are listed officially in the district, police officials admit that more than 800 youths are actively involved with the myriad militant organisations. With the Jamaat-i-Islami commanding a significant following, the Hizbul Mujahedin, which has close ties with it, is the most powerful group in the area. The Al-Jehad ranks a close second.

The selective targeting of Hindus, who comprise 45 per cent of the population in the district, has heightened communal tension in the towns of Doda, Bhadarwah and Kishtwar, which are Hindu majority areas. Recently, Hindu shopkeepers organised a three-week-long bandh in Bhadarwah. Last fortnight, the army was called in to Kishtwar to dispel communal clashes following the killing of an RSS leader by militants. The BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine is vocal in the area, demanding that Doda be declared a disturbed district and handed over to the army.

But even in Doda, support for militancy stops short of fervour. "It's childish to think Kashmir will be liberated with Pakistan's support or the gun," says Saidullah Tantray, provincial chief of the banned Jamaat-i-Islami. And unlike in the Valley, political leaders are not afraid to criticise the militants. Says former MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] and Janata Dal leader Ghulam Qadir Wani: "The people are fed up with militants and whatever support they have is out of fear." Instances of militants seeking recruitments and shelter at gun point are common, as in the case of Ejaz Ahmed, who claims he was "drafted into militancy at gun point."

With a 90-per cent Hindu population, Jammu district was never expected to be a militant stronghold, but it continues to be their favourite target in order to create the impression that the violence is not confined to the Valley alone. "It's a Valley-controlled terrorism," says S. S. Wazir, IG, Jammu range. Complicating the situation further are the Punjab militants who are also active in Jammu.

In Rajouri and Poonch, the antipathy of Rajput and Gujjar Muslims towards Kashmiri Muslims has proved to be stronger than their enthusiasm for a separate homeland. Though they are a majority, the Muslims here have resisted the attempts of the militants to claim them as their brethren. With both the districts bordering the Line of Actual Control (LAC), they have been subject to

propaganda from across the border. Says a police official: "The ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] has taken it as a big challenge."

But with the brutalities inflicted by the Pakistani Army in the 1947, 1965, and 1971 wars fresh in their minds, its involvement is likely to hinder rather than help the militant cause in the two districts. Asks 23-year-old Mohammed Abdul, a Gujjar: "Why should we support a *jehad* masterminded by our tormentors (Pakistan)?"

The few who do fall victim to the propaganda are swayed more by socio-economic factors, rather than sympathy. Though more than 300 youths crossed the border from Poonch a couple of years ago for training in subversion, the hostile public reaction forced most of them to surrender on their return. The army-sponsored development work has also helped in undercutting the support base of the militants.

Hostility towards Kashmiri Muslims runs deep here. "Where were the Kashmiris when we were being crushed by the Pakistani raiders?" asks Kasim Hussain, a shepherd at Shahdara Sharief, a shrine 25 km from Rajouri. The people here also nurse a strong grouse at being neglected in matters of development. As Chaudhary Mohammad Hussain, former National Conference minister and Gujjar leader, complains: *Badmaashi Kashmiri karte hain, par nazarandaz hamain kiya ja raha hai* (It's the Kashmiris who create mischief, but we're the ones being ignored.)

Outside the Valley, Rajouri and Poonch are the only Muslim-dominated areas where political parties are still active. Says Bashir Ahmed Lone, a National Conference leader: "We are mobilising public opinion for revival of the political process in the state." But the BJP insists militancy should be crushed first to make any political initiative meaningful. What is needed now is a pragmatic policy which exploits the existing feeling against militancy in the region.

Future Direction Unknown

93AS0901E Calcutta SUNDAY in English 22 May 93
pp 23-27, 30

[Article by N.V. Subramanian: "Summer of '93: Which Way is Kashmir Headed?"]

[Text] In a state where power flows out of the barrel of a gun, it is sometimes nice to sit in a meeting of out-of-work politicians. It was such a time in Kashmir last week. The drawing room was stuffed with people. Cigarette smoke hung heavy. And, at the centre of the earnest group sat Prof Abdul Ghani Bhatt, lean, impatient and nervously energetic.

Bhatt taught Islam at a local college and doubled as ideologue of the Muslim United Front (MUF) that

nearly came to power in 1987. Today, he is a pre-eminent MUF politician, but politics itself has taken a backseat in the Valley.

Bhatt may regret this, but he concedes that there was little alternative to militancy. "We never took up arms against India until 1988," he reminds. "You started the whole thing, and then you put the blame on us. This hurts."

And yet, Bhatt may have a role despite the militancy. The MUF has prepared a five-point plan to sort out the problem, and Bhatt is a key figure in the grouping of 32 political, social and religious organisations that calls itself the All Parties Liberation Conference (APLC).

The APLC has held two meetings, and its constitution is being prepared. The other man who is enthusiastic about the common front is Umar Farooq, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir. "So far, there has been confusion," he says. "But once we have a joint plan, the people of Kashmir will know the options."

In a sense, this is important. Since 1947, Kashmiris have been divided on the question of accession with India. Only a small part made up of Hindus and Muslims supported it.

This had to do partly with the excellent relations that Sheikh Abdullah had with such Congress leaders as Jawaharlal Nehru. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Subash Chandra Bose and others before Partition.

Also, after Pakistan-backed raiders attacked and annexed a part of the Valley, the local population was unsure of Islamabad. But following Abdullah's uneasy relationship with the Centre, during which he was alternatively jailed and feted, suspicion took root.

And soon, this led to worse things. After Abdullah, son Farooq found favour in Delhi, but was soon discarded. Later, Rajiv Gandhi realised the blunder of dismissing his government. But in his anxiety to right a wrong, one of the worst elections were held in the Valley in 1987.

Farooq Abdullah's National Conference and the Congress came to power together. But in the rigging that preceded this, the MUF lost out. And several of the election agents then decided that power in Kashmir could not be obtained through the ballot.

It took two years for their anger to burst. And from that came the several militant groups that now wield power in the Valley. Before, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) commanded the most support.

And this is little surprising because it never recognised the accession, but stood for independence. Now, politically, it is still the strongest. But, groups such as the Hizbul Mujahideen, Al-Jehad, Ikhwan-e-Muslimeen, Allah Tigers that advocate merger with Pakistan are credited with more fire-power.

These developments may perhaps help those who wish to split the militancy in the Valley. But the groups themselves dismiss all talk of rivalry. And a supreme council has been formed which sorts out inter-group disputes.

But the political future of Kashmir was a point of wide disagreements. The JKLF stood—and still stands—for independence. But the Hizbul and others are firm on a merger with Pakistan.

One year ago, there were reports that these differences were sought to be settled by force. But now, apparently, there has been a rapprochement. All groups say that it is the will of the people that will decide the matter.

"We will abide by their wishes," said Mohammad Altaf Alamgir, the intense, youthful, deputy supreme commander of the Al-Jehad. "But I still think it is not in the interest of Kashmir to be independent."

It is such deep-felt convictions that the newly set up APLC will seek to moderate. And participants hope that the political muscle of such people as the MUF's Bhatt, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir, and so on will help.

But now everyone agrees. "Umar Farooq is only 19 years old," said one of them. "And you don't become a Mirwaiz at that age." Also, the military strength especially of the pro-Pak groups have increased greatly. And this could make them adopt a yet more hard line (see box).

Still, the Jamaat-e-Islami, the parent organisation of the Hizbul Mujahideen, could temper some of the militant hot-heads. And so could the political wings of all the pro-Pak groups. The chances of failure are high, of course. Armed militants hold the high ground as long as Indian security forces ruthlessly carry on with their jobs.

"Indeed, the atrocities committed by them are getting us the international attention that was long overdue," says Javed Mir, the acting president of the JKLF. Al-Jehad's Alamgir sees it another way. "The world was forced to look at the Kashmir problem only after we took up the gun," he claims.

Certainly, they have notched up some important victories lately. The foreign ministers of 53 Islamic nations met in Pakistan last fortnight. And in their resolution, they have upbraided India for its action in Kashmir, and even called for sanctions if the situation isn't reversed.

Also, a different view is taken of the American response. A while ago, the U.S. state department ruled that there was no need for plebiscite in Kashmir, but added that the issue had to be resolved peacefully after consulting the Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus.

The Indian government took the view that this counted for Washington's support. Kashmiri Muslims take a stand that is a little different. Said Ghani: "I think that the Americans mean that Kashmir should go to Pakistan and Jammu goes to India. If this is conceded as a matter of argument, India is still the loser."

A more balanced view would be that while Washington has turned down a plebiscite, it has kept everything else open. The militant option in the circumstances is clear: keep the pressure on. And this they are doing.

But the politicians sense that time is not entirely with them. While the JKLF is making do without Pakistani help, other radical groups have been armed by Islamabad. Now, outfits such as the Al-Jehad contend that they are fighting with old arms as supplies from Pakistan have been terminated. Alamgir, in fact, made this clear as his Kalashnikov-totting gunmen posed for photographers.

And yet, much of this may be for show. Pakistan is on the brink of being declared a terrorist state, and the Al-Jehad may have been advised not to reveal any connection with Islamabad. Moreover, America is tired of the ethnic violence in the Balkans, and would be glad to end it anywhere else.

This gives the politicians in Kashmir a slight edge. And the MUF is in the forefront to grab the main chance. Ghani says that his party has come out with a five point proposal. The main features are:

- The United Nations (UN) takes control over Jammu and Kashmir under trusteeship as in Lebanon or Namibia before.

Reunification of the two parts of Kashmir, plus the chunk with China. In short, the map as it existed in 1947.

Demilitarisation. Indian and Pakistani troops withdraw simultaneously.

Elections are held under U.N. supervision to elect a government.

At the end of five years, the U.N. Security Council calls for plebiscite.

"Who knows, Kashmiris might want to stay on with India after the expiry of five years," says Ghani with a little smile. "But more seriously, India and Pakistan will improve relations. And defence budgets of both countries will reduce."

Professor Ghani even says that the proposal is being considered in several world capitals, including New Delhi, Washington, London and Islamabad. "We have definite information about this," he says.

No one in Delhi confirmed this, and one senior official remarked that there was little new in the proposal. But that does not sway Ghani or even those militants who are pro-Pakistan. In fact, some of them argue that it is better for Kashmir to go with Pakistan than remain independent.

Said Alamgir: "You see, Kashmir is a dispute between India and Pakistan. So, if we separate from India and join Pakistan, it can be put down to historical inevitability. But if we go independent, then Punjab and Assam

will have a precedent. This way, there'll be Balkanisation." And Ghani also believes the same.

The argument is very persuasive, and clearly directed at those Indians who are sitting on the fence on the Kashmir issue. The five-year period will also give the state a rest from militancy. And finally, it pushes pro-independence groups such as the JKLF (Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front) to the corner.

Of course, this is the big chink in the MUF plan. Kashmiris can choose either India or Pakistan, and there's no middle course. This would presumably be India's position while rejecting the proposal, and it may look for some private support from the JKLF.

The JKLF, of course, sees no purpose in talking with Indian officials. Earlier, there were reports of parleys. But JKLF's acting president, Javed Mir, stressed that there was no truth in them.

To a question why he didn't wear a mask for photographs, Mir replied in Urdu: "*Hum yahan naqab posh nahin hai* (we are not hiding behind a mask here)." To a supplementary about Rajesh Pilot's offer of a political settlement, Mir replied: "The security forces have killed so many. Who will want to bargain for blood?"

But some officers are persisting with the JKLF. And it is home minister S. B. Chavan's considered opinion that a Punjab-type election will make the difference. However, those who know Kashmir better say that there is no comparison with the Sikh-majority state.

A few officials insist that a large number of the National Conference cadres have joined the JKLF, and that some sort of deal can be done with them. There is little evidence of this, though. And, even the few who may dare will have to face the wrath of the pro-Pakistani elements in the militancy.

There's clear evidence of this. Maulvi Farooq, Umar Farooq's father and a much-respected Mirwaiz of Kashmir, had a liberal streak. And this apparently got him on the hit list of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), which eventually had him assassinated.

Professor A. A. Guroo was another noted Kashmiri who was on the supreme political council of the JKLF. There were reports that he had held several meetings with Pilot. Last month, even he was killed.

To a question if the security forces were implicated, Bashir Ahmad Bhatt, secretary general of the JKLF, hedged. He said that his organisation was still investigating the circumstances of the murder, and admitted that there was some mystery attached to it.

Guroo's assassination upset a few government calculations. Some officials were counting on him. There is little evidence that they have recovered from the shock of his death. Meanwhile, fundamentalists have strengthened their hold on Kashmir society. And each day, militants of their cause get new successes. The odd opportunity

that they provide to politicians invariably benefit those with strong, pro-Pakistan bias.

This gives people like Professor Abdul Ghani Bhatt the assurance that they may not be entirely jobless. [Box, pp 26, 27]

Where Militants Dare

Why is Sopore a hotbed of extremist activity?

In the old days, bus conductors in Srinagar had a quaint way of showing their separatist urges. They would shout "Sopore, Kapore, *apore*." Sopore was the name of the apple-rich town also called *chhota* London. And *apore* in Kashmiri means across, that is Pakistan.

What was little more than alliteration ten years ago has now become a reality. "Sopore has emerged as the capital of militancy in Kashmir," said a top paramilitary officer. "All pro-Pak groups have set up their headquarters there, and the place provided the easiest access to Pakistan."

Sopore rests in the shadows of the Pir Panjal ranges. Militants who travel to and from Pakistan use the passes and mountain routes closely aligned to the range, while army or BSF patrolling is restricted to the national highway. "This way, we can hardly ever catch them," disclosed a senior official.

Sopore's conversion to the militant cause is hardly surprising. At all times, it has shown a high political consciousness. Several senior Kashmiri leaders, including Syed Ali Shah Gilani, Ghulam Rasool Kar, Abdul Ghani Dar, and even the late Dr Guroo came from Sopore.

And in the past couple of years, the town suffered eight major fires in which scores lost their lives. Residents alleged that the fires had been started by the paramilitary forces after some of their units suffered casualties from militant attacks. In some of the cases, the allegations are not totally false.

These two factors have turned the otherwise prosperous town of Sopore against the central forces. And last week, one more evidence came of the concentration of militants there.

At 11.45 pm on 1 May, rockets were fired from the left bank of the river Jhelum. The targets were four Border Security Force (BSF) posts where 200 men were lodged. Soon, thousands of rounds were fired from long-range universal machine guns.

The attack continued till 4 am. Two BSF men were injured. A two-storey BSF camp was destroyed, and, in all, nearly 70 houses or shops were gutted. Later, it was revealed that eight booster rockets had been fired at the BSF camp.

"Rockets are nothing unusual in Kashmir," said a senior BSF officer. "But I'm very worried about the accuracy of

the attack. Militant groups here have revealed little prowess in this matter. But now it is different. I have information of the involvement of Afghan Mujahideens."

Senior officers say that Sopore has repeatedly come up in meetings. "If you tackle the Jamaat and Sopore, the militancy is finished," said a top policeman. "I have myself raised this matter in every meeting. But no one is willing to act."

Officials are also concerned that several militant groups have opened offices in the administrative part of the Hazratbal shrine. Last month, the army and BSF cornered some militants there. But the units had to relax the cordon there. But the units had to relax the cordon and let them go.

After that, some officials suggested a limited Operation Bluestar-style action in Hazratbal to "sanitize" the area. But no one took it up. And with reason. So far, the Kashmir problem has little communal overtones. And the authorities would like to keep it that way.

"Plus, Kashmir has shown that if one militant is killed, at least five more are born," said a senior official. And, cadres of the Jamaat-e-Islami and other pro-Pak groups have shown great resilience to attack from security forces.

But the factor that counts a great deal more is administrative finesse, and this has been sorely lacking in the last couple of years. Officers with little ground experience or guts are increasingly finding their way into the Valley. And, just now, hectic lobbying is on for the post of director-general of police (DGP), Jammu and Kashmir.

The current DGP, B. S. Bedi, is on extension. Those in the race for his job are Azhar Noomani and Sabharwal, both additional directors-general of police. Noomani is said to have Governor K. V. Krishna Rao's backing. And, Sabharwal is reported to have the support of the gubernatorial adviser, Ashok Jaitley.

More changes are expected as Delhi belatedly wakes up to the need to tone up the local administration. And yet, the situation in Kashmir has worsened so much that any change can only be cosmetic.

Death and Destruction Everywhere

93AS0901F Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
30 May 93 p 11

[Article by Sankarshan Thakur: "The Valley of Death and Despair"; boldface and italicized words as published]

[Text] What would you say of a city whose proudest landmark is a graveyard? What would you say if that city was called Srinagar? That Srinagar is no more what it used to be?

A few dark travesties lie tangled in that simplicity: Srinagar is no more what it used to be.

Riaz Ahmed has been around in the Valley for a while—all of his 32 years actually—and said he had taken more people to the Idgah cemetery in the last few years than he had to the Dal Lake.

"The Dal is in any case a dirty and lonely place these days," Riaz said, precariously moving his taxi along the bumpy non-roads of downtown Srinagar. "The Idgah is where the action is. Times have changed, there are no normal people for us now, there are only journalists and journalists are always bad news."

He had turned off at the first black banner on the spectacular approach to Srinagar and was headed for yet another meeting with old Abdul Aziz Lone, the Idgah's caretaker. "The problem with Lone is that he cries too much," Riaz said, turning in to the glade in whose corner the Idgah lies. "He is a nice man but every time I see him he is sadder than the last time. All he does is bury the dead and cry on their graves. The black banner you saw on the road was put up as an arrow for this place."

Scene: There used to be a Happy Valley bus which left Srinagar Airport several times each day, and the ride upto the Dal Lake was a splendoured powderflash of beauty. There were hills and hotels and buzzing bazars. There was the Jhelum and the Lake itself, strewn with flower-laden shikaras. Tour guides hounded you with their exclusive offerings of heaven-on-earth when you disembarked at the Tourist Reception Centre. The board here read: "Welcome to the Happy Valley."

Contrast: The board hangs no more. And the Happy Valley buses don't run because there is no one to ride them and there is nowhere to go in them. The hills and the Jhelum and the Dal remain but they are desolate. Srinagar is a beautiful picture with its colours snatched away.

"Come," said old Abdul Aziz Lone. "Let me introduce you to our dead." His face was shrivelled around his single eye and he wore the kind of mouldy cap only old men wear. But when he ran around the graveyard, skipping rows and dusting off the stones, he seemed to belie his age. "Here lies Maqbool Butt, the first guest of this place, her Maulvi Farooq and here the venerable Dr Abdul Ahad Guru...."

Aziz had the dweller of every grave in the Shahid Mazar on his worn fingertips and he was reeling off the circumstances of their death like a man possessed. "And look here, sir, here lie Yasmin Akhtar and Shamina Akhtar, young girls of 22 and 20, killed by the BSF in front of their mother. She still comes and wails here every month. Young girls who had done nothing to deserve being shot... When I had come here, there were just nine graves, now there are 478, they keep killing and this *kabristan* keeps expanding...."

Riaz stood on the side, uninterested, or maybe he had heard all this too many times. Graveyards are mushrooming all over the Valley: over the last few years of militancy and turmoil, the rate of death has climbed. In the Srinagar Idgah, they have cleared new ground for the dead, and in places like Sopore where the heat from both sides has been more intense, they have had to dig up the hillsides.

Nobody travels up these lovely roads to Sopore and Baramulla but the jawans and the locals must go to attend to urgent business. Halfway up the road from Srinagar lies the once-busy fork towards Tangmarg and Gulmarg. There are just the huge green dirty trucks of the Army with their cargo of live chickens and firewood—nobody is up in Gulmarg nowadays except the gunmen in uniform and the gunmen without uniforms.

Driver Riaz used to run a tourist taxi service and would often be in Gulmarg with clients. "We used to be so happy," Riaz said on the way back from the Idgah. "Now, as if by a curse, our smiles have been wiped off. Kashmir has been ruined."

Army and BSF jawans stood ringing the Idgah grounds, distant but keen. "They never leave us," Riaz said, only half-interested. "Not even for our most private rites, but we are used to them now." The jawans were as disinterested and were there because they had been ordered to the place, one to every 10 feet, like fence posts. They are everywhere, like tourists used to be in Srinagar.

Scene: The Boulevard led to a narrow uphill track that eventually opened up on Chasma-e-Shahi. Hugging the Boulevard, ran the rim of the Dal Lake, puckered with shikaras that took you to the houseboats, cold or com-mo-dious depending on the amount you were ready to pay. The track up to Chasma-e-Shahi was never-ending ant-procession of tourists, the Lake was a criss-cross of shikaras. In the evenings, the little restaurants lit up the Boulevard—Chinese eateries run by Buddhists from Ladakh, the Kashmiri *waazwan* servers, specialty places for the Bengali and Gujarati tourists. The locals thronged the walk round the Lake, taking in their daily quota of beauty.

Contrast: The Boulevard is deserted but for the jawans who have made their home in every hotel, every restaurant around the Lake. The shikaras lie idle on the shores, some rotting, some waddling in the weeds that infest the Lake. The walk up Chasma-e-Shahi is out of bounds for the surrounding forest cover is now a training ground for BSF commandos. Besides, the Governor lives up the same walk and they can't risk crowds around the place.

The Buddhist restauranteurs have returned to Ladakh, the Bengalis and Gujaratis began their long journey earlier, just after the January 1990 processions. Nobody seems in any mood for Kashmiri *waazwans*. By night, the Boulevard and the Lake lie dead, attended by the dark and empty houseboats, still anchored to their moorings, for their is nowhere else to go. By day, the place looks more wasted.

The vocabulary of Srinagar has changed. The earlier catchwords were tourist, taxi, houseboat, hotel. Now all you hear above the silence of the streets is Army, bunker, curfew, hartal. The main market on Maulana Azad Road is almost permanently closed, either due to curfew or because of a hartal call. On open days, the shops lift shutters late and shut by 4 pm because everybody is scurrying to get home before dark.

After sundown there is a blanket curfew and movement of any sort is fraught with danger. Srinagar is pitch dark at night because the street lights do not work and often there is no electricity. Nervous securitymen, holed up in their unlit bunkers, shoot at any sound—they have often killed innocents in such firings but they are not prepared to take any risks.

Later, in the official records, the victims are marked as "killed in cross-firing." The militants, concentrated in the downtown labyrinths of Habbakadal, Noorbah and Nawapora, try to gain ground over the paramilitary under cover of darkness. Clashes are routine. Srinagar nights are almost always riddled with gunfire.

"Business?" the handicraft showroom owner on Maula Azad Road derisively laughed. "There must be someone to do business with, I can't sell Kashmiri handicrafts to Kashmiris, can I? How long are we to live in this morgue that the Indian forces have made for Kashmir?"

The restaurateur-cum-photo studio owner at Nishat Bagh similarly niggled. "There used to be hordes of tourists here. On Sundays, even the local people would come for picnics. Now I sit all day and do nothing, like a fisherman with a line. I don't even make enough money to pay for my cigarettes. I have moved from Wills Navy Cuts to Cavanders."

The CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] has pitched tents in the gardens. The nearby Centaur Hotel too is a preserve of the security forces. Hari Niwas, once a tourist hotel, is now an interrogation centre of the CRPF. The Bakshi Indoor Stadium on the other side of town is another camp, as is the Tagore Hall, Srinagar's premier auditorium.

The floating Nehru Park on the Dal Lake—once chock-a-block with picnickers—is an exclusive enclave of the Army, and even the Char Chinar, further down on the waters, has lost a fourth of its charm. One of the full-grown Chinar trees suddenly began to dry and wilt; Char Chinar now is more appropriately called Teen Chinar. Around the little island, the Dal Lake swirled, mired in weedsand, awash with the daily sewage pumped in by the security camps all around.

"It is not just the absence of tourists that hurts," says Ghulam Mohammed Kunku, owner of a string of houseboats. "It is the way our drift is ruining the Valley and its beauty. This looks like a grubby encampment. We are all sinking in the mess of neglect and poverty. This is the peak of the tourist season and all you see is jawans."

The Kashmir economy is not as badly mauled, though, as it appears in Srinagar. A little-known and little-accepted truth is that the state is not entirely dependent on tourism: Kashmir is essentially an agricultural economy and most of it has remained unaffected through the turmoil. The apple trade has not been hurt, on the contrary, it has gained in the last couple of years because Himachal Pradesh has had bad apple crops. "The apple dealers have straight business links with cartels in New Delhi and elsewhere and that has not been affected," said a senior official.

He explained why neither the closure of banks nor the growing anti-India feelings had caused any damage to the apple trade: for generations, apple-growers in the Valley have dealt with the same dealers in New Delhi and there is no loss of trust there. Besides, all their dealings are in cash so the government or the banks don't enter the picture. Much the same holds true for the handicrafts and carpet industry.

The exports are continuing, the only change is that New Delhi, instead of Srinagar, has become the buying centre. Last year's figures for the export of carved walnut wood, for instance, were several times above the figures for 1989-90 when crafted wood worth Rs 1.25 crores went out. Last year the export figure stood at Rs 5.09 crores. But that is also no index of the situation in the Valley. The same official admitted that this trade rate was being kept in spite of the strife and not because of any improvement in the situation. "People have to survive and traders have the strongest survival instincts," he said.

Scene: Suffering Moses was the favourite-destination of the Kashmiri artifact buyer. The little shop on the Jhelum Bund was rather unpretentious but in it were stored some of the rarest pieces of Kashmiri art. Suffering Moses sold far and wide. Daily promenaders walked up and down the chinar-shaded Bund along the river. Boys played cricket when there were not too many walking, and when there were not too many boys playing cricket, lovers would look for little nooks down the landscaped embankment. Across the Jhelum lay posh Rajbagh and behind it a breathtaking set of snow-capped peaks.

Contrast: Suffering Moses is padlocked and there is little trace of the owners. Maybe, a passerby speculates, they have moved their business to New Delhi. There are no more boys and no cricket and of the promenaders, there are only a few: schoolchildren who walk to and back from classes when schools are open and classes are held. The chinars are a vigorous green overladen with foliage at this time of the year, but lovers there are none. Kashmir is having another spring without the swallows.

All Efforts Failing

93AS0901G Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
30 May 93 p 11

[Article: "Neither the Carrot Nor the Stick is Any Use"]

[Text] The Kashmir administration is helplessly watching the daily drift in the Valley reduce its working motto to a meaningless cliché.

Popular anger and alienation is such that nobody is biting the carrot; use of the stick creates greater anger and alienation. The policy that some still say will work the magic, is caught in a vicious eddy.

A top official and a leading advocate of the carrot and stick method himself says, "The real problem is not the violence or its daily aftermath. The real problem is that we have lost the minds and hearts of the people of Kashmir, we have lost them psychologically. Carrots actually are no cure for that kind of problem."

And the stick, according to him, would only plunge the Valley into greater crisis. "The stick is okay if we want to hold on to this place like an oppressed occupation zone, it will work for a time. But if we are serious about elections and democracy, the security forces are the biggest threat. They make elections and democracy sound so farcical."

The distrust and contempt the Kashmiri has built up for anything that has to do with government is perhaps best evident from the treatment he reserves for fellow Kashmiris who are in the administration's employ.

They are socially boycotted and perennially under threat from the militants' gun for they are seen as collaborators working for a repressive regime. Most of them must travel to work and back under heavy security guard and most must live very lonely lives among their own people.

An official in the fisheries department said, "Even relatives and close friends have stopped associating with me for fear of provoking the ire of the militants, the pressure on shunning the job is immense but there is also a livelihood to earn"

The Srinagar municipality has become near-defunct, leaving roads unrepaired, drains uncleared, broken streetlights unreplaced and the once-splendoured capital in a mess. Just one bank works in the city, the buses don't run.

Alienation Increasing

93AS0901H Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
24 May 93 p 1

[Article by Sankarshan Thakur: "Death Gives Birth to Mujahids in Jammu and Kashmir"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Marbal (Baramulla), May 23: The Army, which had killed him, pronounced him a terrorist. The people who had come to bury him called him a Mujahid and a martyr. Some said he was Mustaq, others thought he was Abdullah Obaid. Nobody was sure.

Both men had been holed up in the little cottage eventually blown off by the Army. All that was recovered

were a few bones. They lay veiled in a white *chador* under a young Chinar tree bursting with the green leaves of spring.

The priest conducting the last rites had his arms flung skywards and he said, "The youngster who died yesterday, who was killed yesterday by merciless hands, had the warm blood of liberation in him. We present you his remains."

There were a few hundred gathered on the open face of the hill which is the Marbal Idgah. Some were sobbing but most just grimly stared. Up and beyond the low stone fence of the Idgah sat the women and the girls—hundreds in their colourful *pherans* and headgear, like a rash of untimely blossoms. They, too, just grimly watched.

The nearest Army post was 10 km away, so there was no cause for fear. All of Marbal had assembled and more were trickling down the slopes from nearby villages. Skull-capped for the occasion, shoes held in hands.

The priest spoke on, slowly pitching up his voice, slowly churning emotion. He spoke of the number of such funerals he had conducted—in Pulwama, Pazipora, Kawadara, Kunanposhpora, Shiwa, Sopore. All over the Valley there were funerals and funerals and funerals because there were killings and killings and killings. "Our young men are being wiped out. Our present is devastated. Our future is getting darker. What for, I ask you, what for? For these Indians and their barbaric forces?"

Volley by volley, he lifted silence to a stirring. The stirring to a hubbub and the hubbub to an uproar. Suddenly, there were men springing up one after another in the crowd and shrieking. "*Azaadi, azaadi, azaadi*," they cried. "We want freedom, we want freedom." Then everyone rose and everyone joined in. Their arms flailing and their eyes pulsing with anger. The quiet funeral had become a frenzy.

Later, when the moment's fury was spent and the dead man's remains consigned to a grave on the slopes, the old schoolmaster explained why he had come. Not merely because both Mustaq and Obaid had once been his students. Nor because it was mandatory to come. "I am an old man and nobody would force me but I came because these men are dear to me. I don't like guns and I don't approve of violence but these boys have taken up the guns for us. For their own people. They protect us from rape and loot and plunder. Don't you admire Bhagat Singh and Subhas Chandra Bose for the same reasons?"

The mourners were dispersing and some among them were still shouting slogans. "*Ai kaatilon, ai zaalimon, Kashmir hamara chhod do.*" "*Hindustani barbariyat murdadbad, murdabad.*" (Oh murders, oh brutes, leave our Kashmir alone. Indian barbarism be done to death).

We waited a moment to catch the slogans and then very patiently, the old schoolmaster explained, "Terrorists are those who terrorise the people at large. These men have picked up the gun to make our lives more secure. How can we call them terrorists? The terrorists here are the ones in uniform," he walked away, and then turned and hesitantly said, "Please don't quote me by name. Wili you? I am still a government servant though the government will not like what I teach the children."

Every strike that the security forces make is waved as a victory at government offices in Srinagar and over television and radio. But every funeral that such strikes lead to becomes the eye of a new storm in Kashmir. The graveyards that are proliferating across the Valley can barely be claimed as trophies the security forces have acquired in the war against the enemy. Each gravestone is a catalogue of many more enemies made. Each funeral spawns its own new Mujahids. "Sprinkle thorns unto the earth," as the priest performing the last rites had said, "and more thorns is what you will get."

U.S. Efforts Unhelpful

93AS09011 New Delhi ORGANISER in English
30 May 93 pp 1, 15

[Article: "Malott and Peres Recipes: How to Save Kashmir"; boldface words as published]

[Excerpt] Two stars, one benignant and the other malignant, sailed into the New Delhi skyline last week, signalling contrary messages of hope and fear. The one was Israel's Star of David embodied in its charming Foreign Minister, Mr. Shimon Peres, and the other was a blinking one from U.S.A.'s STARS AND STRIPES, in the abrasive, overbearing personality of Mr. John R. Malott, the U.S. Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. Peres's was a long-delayed and highly euphoric sentimental journey to a much-adored land. It was a harbinger of family reunion aborted so long by Nehruvian procrastination and secular self-abnegation for illusory gains from the Islamic fraternity which has finally exposed itself fully with the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] coming out openly in support of Paki terrorism in Kashmir and elsewhere. Tiny Israel can well be an inspiring model of self-confidence in this milieu.

Besides the signing of six agreements and memoranda for maximum cooperation on the economic front with India by his country that commands maximum leverage in the U.S. economy and a powerful lobby as well, Mr. Peres' visit opens up avenues to Israeli expertise in intelligence, counter-terrorism measures and defence modernisation, though the latter gains are left assumed rather than clearly spelt out. But more than all that it is Israel's nationalist and religious spirit, the bedrock of its survival in a sea of Islamic fundamentalism, that India needs to imbibe at this critical juncture.

In any case, Mr. Peres' visit has come as a morale-booster for India at a time when this giant-sized country is hobbled by its own lack of self-confidence to deal with Islamic moles and predators. His full support for India's stand on Kashmir and avowal of its integrity comes as a much-needed whiff of fresh air in an atmosphere fouled by our own self-conflicted weaknesses. India, of course, will have to extend a reciprocal support to Israel in UNO [United Nations Organization], as it recently did therein after a long time by voting for a resolution removing its stigma of a racist state. In the context of current Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, Peres himself is considered to be an 'understanding liberal' about the roots of terrorism, but is uncompromising on peace first and then talks stipulation.

It is interesting in this context that Mr. Peres reportedly told Indian hosts, including Rao himself that a sure way of solving the Kashmir problem was changing demographic balance in the Valley. While earlier the Israeli ambassador too had said it, it is recalled that India's Soviet backers in UNO too had been wondering why we were not settling a few lakhs, particularly ex-servicemen, at least all along the border with occupied Kashmir to detach the Muslim population susceptible to Islamic propaganda, from its co-religionists across the border.

In fact, the purpose would have been served by settlement of Punjabi refugees in 1947-48 itself if the 'historian' Nehru had any understanding of Islamic history.

Far from that, the successive dynastic regimes have been indulging in deliberate repression and neglect of the non-Muslim populations of Jammu and Ladakh and boosting Islamic blackmailers who have now thrown out the Hindu population from the Valley. Israel on the other hand is colonising even the occupied territories of Ghaza and West Bank to reduce the Arab (Palestinian) percentage. Mr. Peres invited even the remaining few thousand Jews in India to come to their holyland. Six lakh have been settled in Israel from other countries in recent years.

Anyway, India's long chain of blunders coupled with collapse of Soviet Union has now emboldened American loud-mouths like Mr. Malott, an interim adviser to the Clinton Administration, to shoot a few arrows at India from Indian soil, like the Pakistani high commissioner had been doing earlier by confirming open support to the so-called freedom fighters on Kashmir. Through his public and private assertions Malott did his best to revive images of the 'Ugly American' by striking an openly interventionist stance.

Virtually declaring the 'Kashmir dispute' to be his country's active concern, Malott sought to give pre-eminence to the so-called human rights violation by security forces more than even the first cause of Pakistan's undeclared war against India. He seemed to relegate the root cause of Paki sponsorship of crossborder terrorism in Kashmir and Punjab, confirmed even by the CIA and conceded even in his own press interview a few days earlier, to

secondary importance. This, of course, is apart from Malott's dismissal of Indian charges of Paki hand in Bombay's serial blasts, thus giving another boost to Pakistan, thanks no less to confusion in our own Central Government.

What is, however, most striking is that despite assiduous attempts of India to open a new chapter in Indo-U.S. relations and U.S. bigwigs' acknowledgement of the great potential of such relationship and much progress therein, Mr. Malott tried to upset the entire agenda by linking all American investment and aid, including even by IMF, with American satisfaction with human-rights situation regardless of the ground reality.

Besides, Malott's attitude was no less big brotherly on old hobby horses like NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], which Shimon Peres described as a cynical exercise, as even the signatories to NPT are insincere in its observation.

Thus, even while professing to peddle an 'even-handed' and tilt-free stance between India and Pakistan, Mr. Malott said everything possible to rub India on the wrong side and ditto the Paki stand on vital point. [passage omitted]

So, it is said, though Pakistan's 'parole' may be extended by another six months, it is in no actual danger of being declared a terrorist state. On the other hand, the U.S.A. is now targetting India for State terrorism in Kashmir.

Be that as it may in regard to Pakistan, quite the contrary thing has happened in case of India. For, thanks to Pan-Islamic lobby's systematic propaganda over atrocities in Kashmir and Indian media's rather over-zealous coverage to it regardless of the tricky situation created by Pakistan, India is having worst of both the worlds. But the roots of this Indian predicament lie in the weakness of Indian secularism and gaping policy loopholes. The only policy so far has been giving a long rope to Kashmiri leaders who have turned corrupt blackmailers over the years because of India's generous supply of funds. They have, in fact, fomented separatism and spawned a whole generation of India-baiters for their own vested interests. Economic packages are offered as bribes to secessionists. Militants are being recruited in police force.

The entire administration and police system have been packed with anti-Centre and anti-India elements committed to Kashmir's 'Azadi.' Even when on the watch, Pakistan is actively training and sending bands of militant youths, necessitating massive deployment of security forces to ward off militants' well-designed attacks. Sometimes local mobs are used as a cover for such attacks. However, Mr. Malott has put militants and Indian security forces on par with each other.

Any effective counter-attack or operations to mop up militants and their abettors are promptly declared as atrocities on civilian population and broadcast all over the world. Though the security forces are under order to use minimum force, use of deterrent force is called for

sometimes to meet the critical war-like situation. It is obvious that normalcy cannot be restored unless Pakistan stops sending trained terrorists.

However, according to Mr. Malott, infringement of human rights must stop irrespective of whether Pakistan stops the proxy war or not. Which virtually means handing over Kashmir to Pakistan's surrogates on a platter. For, unlike U.S.A. targetting even Gadaffi in Tripoli itself, India is unable to bomb terrorists training bases even in Pak-occupied Kashmir.

As if to help complete this Pakistani mission of grabbing Kashmir, the U.S. spokesman has again declared J&K [Jammu & Kashmir] as a disputed territory as per the old U.S. stand and threatened indirectly to open the plebiscite question. In any case, he has ordered India to hold talks with Pakistan to decide the State's future "under the Shimla agreement." Thus, while the spirit of Shimla agreement is flagrantly violated by Pakistan to change the 1972 status-quo by use of force, Mr. Malott wants the whole question to be negotiated *de novo* by involving the "people of Kashmir" also in the parleys, a stand which Farooq Abdullah too took publicly some time ago, obviously at Anglo-American behest.

The American pretext now for ordering India to settle the dispute with Pakistan is Pakistan's threat of a nuclear war if the needful is not done. Thus, the two weapons being used by Pakistan—cross-border terrorism and nuclear threat—are both of American connivance and creation. For, the U.S.A. deliberately turned a blind eye to Pakistan's nuclear weapons project, as the CIA itself concedes now. At the same time, it poured in large quantities of arms and money to mujahideen bands from all over the Muslim world in the ten-year war in Afghanistan. While a civil war still continues among Afghan factions even after Soviet withdrawal, arms are being diverted by Pakistan to terrorists in Kashmir.

In any case, the situation is pretty grim for India. Since India has thrown away almost every chance of settling the Kashmir problem when it could do so itself, without foreign interference, finally and irrevocably in its favour. The tragic drama of ad hoc experiments continues unabated even under the Narasimha Rao regime, as it offers to talk to militants even before they are brought to heel or at least agree to lay down their AK guns.

As the THE HINDUSTAN TIMES reported last week, 'liberal' officers and advisers are being planted who leak out top secrets to militants to frustrate the security operations. This while the entire civil and police service is already pro-militant. Meanwhile, nearly half the central funds for administration are passing on to militant outfits. This, in a nutshell, is the meaning of the self-defeating "carrot and stick" policy of the Centre. The result is that Muslim majority areas of Jammu too are up in arms, as Malott hints of Partition of J&K on Muslim-Hindu (including Buddhist) lines, to snatch more areas from India.

It is a testing time for the Rao Government as it seems poised to yield more autonomy, a euphemism for full internal *Azadi* to Kashmiri separatists. Entire non-BJP opposition, especially the leftists are pushing for it, little realising the fatal consequence to the integrity of India, besides their own future. For, the nation will never allow it, roused as it is more than ever before to meet all challenges.

In this context, the visit of the Israeli Foreign Minister and his whole-hearted backing to Indian stand on Kashmir comes as a great gesture at a critical time. The obvious security and defence link-up between the two countries, standing at the two opposite ends of the heart of the Islamic world from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia, could well blossom into a worldwide anti-fundamentalist front as the western Christian world led by U.S.A. is no less alarmed over its tragic potentials. Despite the needs of realpolitik, especially to do business with the oil-rich Sheikhs, who themselves are in danger of being toppled by fundamentalist forces fawned by Pakistan and Iran, the West is equally worried about the Pan-Islamic dragon after the collapse of the evil empire of Soviet communism.

However, secular India is seen as too weak and self-inhibited to take the dragon frontally, as it has systematically repressed the nationalist urges for fear of antagonising the Islamic fifth column and its foreign patrons. In this context, Shimon Peres' exhortation in Delhi—that while religion promotes faith, it also promotes a psychological nationalist bond - is to be taken with all seriousness to hone the spirit that washes away all anti-nationalist dross and treachery. That alone ensures mass participation in defence and security operations to force the diffident rulers to plug all chinks and loopholes and make the country an invincible fortress.

Press Supporting Militants

93AS0901J New Delhi ORGANISER in English
30 May 93 p 13

[Article: "Pro-Militancy Press in Kashmir Thriving at Government Expense"]

[Text] The insurgency in Jammu Kashmir is being funded at the cost of poor Indian exchequer.

The State-owned Jammu Kashmir State Financial Corporation has loaned over Rs. 4 crore in recent years for the installation of modern off-set-printing presses in the State. But almost all of these printing presses are being used for printing of anti-India literature and pro-militant newspapers. These offset presses also include the Khidmat Press owned by the Congress-I at Srinagar.

Most astounding part of the situation is that almost all the owners are not repaying their loans and are defaulters for over three to four years now. No effort is being made to recover the loans, not to say to taking any legal action against the owners of such printing presses.

In Srinagar, over 60 per cent local newspapers spitting venom against India and propping up militancy are being printed in the Khidmat Press, which was originally installed during the Coalition of Congress(I)-National Conference with the declared purpose of printing and publishing news-magazines to counter the anti-Indian propaganda by secessionists.

In Jammu, a pro-Mufti Sayeed Daily is openly propping up militancy and playing quite a nasty role in spreading canards against the security forces by alleging custodial deaths and other excesses, including those of rapes. The owner of this Daily has secured about Rs. 50 lakh as loan from different Government-controlled financial institutions. Being a defaulter in repaying the loans, the outstanding amounts come to over Rs. 80 lakh. But amazingly no effort is being made to recover the loans, perhaps because the man has links with high-ups in the Government, including leaders of some political parties.

In Srinagar, the Government has paid about Rs. 5 crore to over a dozen of dailies, weeklies and other magazines in lieu of commercial advertisements during the past over three years. Almost all of these dailies and other papers, under instructions from various militant outfits, never carry any press note or any statement of the Government. Instead, they are full of statements and concocted stories of the leaders of various militant outfits and outlawed organisations. Most of the papers almost daily carry obituaries and acts of "braver" of the killed "Mujahids." Certain papers publish the advertisements of outlawed organisations as also those of the bodies operating from Pakistan, U.S.A. and other countries.

Another intriguing part of the situation is that there are certain set norms and rules for release of Government advertisements and their mode of payment. But there are instances that in a number of cases all these norms and rules were ignored and at the behest of some militant outfits advertisements worth several lakhs of rupees were issued. Newly-published monthly magazine, *The Mountain Valley*, got the Government advertisement from its very beginning, although under rules any paper has to wait for six months with its regular publication to secure Government advertisements.

In addition to certain local papers, a number of media-persons, directly and indirectly, playing the game of various militant out-fits, are getting various types of favours from the Government. While many genuine and pro-India journalists are getting shabby treatment, the "newsmen" indulging in spreading canards and disinformation campaign by carrying highly mischievous and misleading stories against the Army and security forces, have been provided accommodation in Government Guest and Circuit houses as also in MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] hostels. Many such "journalists" are not even paying the nominal rents for the said accommodation.

At the instance of such dubious characters, those newsmen who dare to report and write things independently and take care of the national responsibilities also, are getting threats from various militant outfits. The authorities do not seem to be vigilant and responsive to the situation.

While many newsmen, especially a number of local papers, carry the fabricated and cock-and-bull stories about the alleged excesses by the Army and paramilitary forces operating against militancy, there are certain "free-lancers, intellectuals and secular leaders" who, on the basis of press reports, frame 'reports' which are given to certain foreign agencies like the Asia Watch, Physicians of Human Rights and PUCL [expansion not given], etc.

There are reports that some "media persons" are supplying anti-Indian propaganda material to ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] which is also operating a clandestine Radio from close to the Line of Control in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir for the consumption of predominantly Muslim districts of Poonch-Rajouri bordering PoK.

The Pradesh BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president in this regard, the other day, made quite an important disclosure that a team of four "secular" activists of different parties led by one Balraj Puri, a local link of the Asia Watch, and some other agencies visited militancy-infested areas of Doda district. On their return these leaders held a Press Conference at Jammu. But 20 hours before their Press Conference, the ISI-controlled clandestine Radio—"the Sadai Hurriat"—broadcast a news-item about the visit of Balraj Puri and others to Doda district and their having a meeting with the Jammu region Chief (Mir) of the Jamaat-e-Islami at Doda. Balraj Puri was quoted to have expressed his "agony and pain with tears in his eyes over the excesses being committed by the Indian Army on innocent people of Kishtwar."

Prof. Chaman Lal Gupta has demanded a CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] probe to know as to who is the link of the ISI Radio of "Sadai Hurriat" who is sending reports across the border and with what instruments and means of communication.

The BJP leader has also demanded an inquiry into the allotment of costly housing land plot, having a market value of over rupees ten lakh, to Balraj Puri's wife in Shastrinagar when this colony has been "sealed" for allotments. The plot has been leased out just for Rs 30,093/60, ignoring all the norms and regulations, as the said lady has already two plots in different areas.

Significantly, the latest allotment Mrs. Puri was made after Mr. Puri had challenged the findings of the team of the Press Council of India which had described the allegations of rapes by the army at Kunan Poshpura as a "massive hoax orchestrated by militant groups and their mentors in Kashmir and abroad as a part of a sustained and cleverly-contrived strategy of psychological warfare

and as an entry-point for reinscribing Kashmir on international agenda as a Human Rights issue."

Government Approach Helping Militants

93AS0901K Madras *FRONTLINE* in English 4 June 93 pp 115-117

[Article by Madhusudan Srinivas: "Flawed Approach: Ad Hocism Helps Militancy"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Two major events—a rocket attack on May 11 on the Srinagar Secretariat by Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) militants in which a government employee was killed, and the Home Ministry's last-minute action on May 6 at New Delhi's Indira Gandhi International Airport preventing three prominent pro-militant leaders from going for Haj—have dealt a blow to the gains made by Gen K. V. Krishna Rao's administration in putting down forcefully, but bloodlessly, the near-revolt in the Jammu and Kashmir Armed Police (JKAP) in April.

Among other serious developments were an incident of large-scale arson and killing at Sopore on May 2; an outbreak of violence, with a communal tinge, on May 10 in Kishtwar and Baderwah towns of Doda district following two murders, including that of a prominent local leader; a spurt in militant activity in Jammu (four deaths in the State prison on April 27, when Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) guards fired on a mob of militant detenus; two deaths in a bomb blast on May 2; and the arrest of a Hizbul Mujahideen militant for plotting to kill the governor and other VIPs.

A retired Indian Police Service officer, who served in Srinagar till recently, summed it up thus: "In 1991, militancy was all quantity; in 1993, it is composed of restricted but quality manpower, including some very effective Afghan mujahideen recruits."

The attack on the Secretariat signalled the militants' defiance as well as the finesse of their firepower. The JKLF's eagerness to claim the credit for it was manifest in the statement issued by its spokesman in Srinagar, which said such attacks were a "message of the bureaucracy not to be a tool of repression." There was an immediate upsurge of anti-Government feeling among the employees who rushed out of the building after the attack. Still it is intriguing that the JKLF took the risk of antagonising a potential constituency, rather than hit the usual targets—the security forces.

That it was the JKLF which carried out this attack should come as a dampener for the Centre, as this outfit's pro-independence stance and opposition to joining Pakistan have given it top billing among militant groups the Union Government would ultimately like to negotiate with.

For the militants, however, it was a strategic victory and for days after the May 11 incident, attendance at the Secretariat was thin.

These are the latest indicators of the situation in the strife-torn State going from bad to worse. The main reasons are the lack of a cogent policy initiative from New Delhi, and the disorganised law and order machinery at the State headquarters in Srinagar. Coordination among the police, the paramilitary forces, the Army and the Governor's administration is practically non-existent, as was proved in the vacillation of the top brass during the police agitation.

Strangely, in what seems like a different plane of reality from the situation in the Kashmir Valley, as late as May 12 Union Minister of State for Internal Security Rajesh Pilot continued with the Centre's favourite litany in response to MPs' concern about the sudden downturn in Kashmir affairs. He said whenever there was talk of elections or a package, forces from across the border activated their agents in the valley, leading to large-scale violence and sabotage. But what is forgotten is that such propaganda blitzes, made continuously over the last two years, indirectly give the lie to Government claims of the security forces' (the Army, the paramilitary forces and the police) success in maintaining law and order.

The Minister's statement came a few days after a typical Government *faux* benevolent March 12 inaugural speech. At that time he said there was room to "forgive and forget." Almost two months later, on May 11, he condemned the rocket attack in strong terms and reaffirmed the administration's resolve to wipe out militancy, issuing a directive to the security forces to find and punish the guilty.

Meanwhile, Pilot added to his last reshuffle of Adviser-level officials by naming another Adviser, R. K. Sayeed, besides transferring the BSF Inspector-General (Kashmir), Ashok Patel. Coming close on the heels of D. D. Gupta's take-over as head of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in the State, these appointments are the latest in the revamp exercise going on over the past two months. At a time when the militants' offensive is on the upswing, though predictable in summer, the negative effects of such a change of guard cannot be underestimated.

Among political parties too there is a pervading sense of pessimism. Former Union Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed of the Janata Dal, in a statement in Jalandhar, seemed to toe the line that there can be no talk of elections until the security situation improves. But it is intriguing that Dr. Farooq Abdullah's National Conference chose precisely this moment—the first week of May—to score some propaganda points with the people by submitting a memorandum to the new Governor—known to be close to Farooq Abdullah—known to be close to Farooq Abdullah—warning him against following the "repressive path" of his predecessors, Girish Saxena and Jagmohan. The memorandum attacked the

"reign of terror unleashed by the security forces." From Abdullah himself, meanwhile, there has been no follow-up on the keenness expressed in March for a rapprochement.

It is such circumstances which make people like M. Y. Taregami, a senior leader of the State Communist Party of India (Marxist) and a long-time Srinagar resident, comment that "unfortunately the Government of India has consistently refused to give the Kashmir problem the attention it deserves. The ad hocism and the confusion of the last few months have made matters worse." Contrary to the general impression in the media, Taregami asserts that it is wrong to assume that the people are again supporting the militants wholeheartedly. But the mishandling of the situation at Sopore and Srinagar has handed the initiative back to the militants. Taregami asserts that "not even the people in Delhi, who are supposed to be devising ways and means to promote the political process in the State, know what political process they are talking about."

Tibetan Refugees Continue Exile, Support Analyzed

Situation Needs Review

93AS0927A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 8 Jun 93
p 6

[Article by Jawaharlal Kaul: "Let Previous Decisions About Tibet Be Reviewed"]

[Text] A few days ago, there was a meeting among some well-known thinkers and journalists about the tragedy of Tibet and the Tibetans in Dharamsala. It is obvious that all of the participants agreed that gross injustice was committed against Tibet, and that the world was watching as a silent spectator. It was not that people did not offer suggestions for rectifying the Tibetan problem. Suggestions to resolve this issue were also made by Tibetan leaders. However, none of these suggestions could change the future of Tibet. Perhaps in the present condition, there cannot be any immediate solution. However, we cannot just sit idle and ignore it because it is a complex issue and considering it a fatal sickness.

Light was shed on the most serious aspect of the Tibetan problem in this meeting. This was the total destruction of a whole society and its culture. This destruction is not being carried out by genocide. They are not trying to destroy a community by physically murdering people. However, the killing of Tibetans, even if they raise their voices a little, is a common occurrence now. But the genocide necessary to destroy a whole community has not happened yet. There are two phases of this process of genocide. The Chinese rulers are settling Huan Chinese in the hundreds of thousands in Tibet. There are about 600,000 Tibetans in Tibet now; however, from the few news reports that filter through here, there is an indication that the number of Huan Chinese has surpassed this amount. At this rate, within a decade, the Tibetans will

be a negligible minority in their country. The second phase is the imposition of Chinese culture and systems because of the majority rule there. After they become a minority, the Tibetans will not be able to save their culture, religion, traditions, or even their language and dress. The Tibetan culture and language will become a part of history in these exquisite mountains of the world.

We can imagine how the hundreds of thousands of Tibetans living as refugees in India and many other countries feel about this scary possibility. A few years ago the Tibetan scholar Rimpoche, the chief assistant to the Dalai Lama, explained to Tibetans living in foreign countries about the incidents that would point to the destruction of the Tibetan culture and national identity. He had gone to Switzerland five to six years ago, where about 2,000 Tibetans live. These Tibetans, who had come to welcome Lama Rimpoche did not salute him according to Tibetan tradition, nor did they talk to him in the Tibetan language. They all appeared to have been totally Westernized. However, when he went to Switzerland recently, there was no one in the crowd gathered to welcome him that did not pay homage to him in the Tibetan tradition of lying on the ground, and no one who did not speak in Tibetan, though they spoke incorrectly. Rimpoche believes that Tibetans living in foreign countries will never forget their culture. But when the "China-ization" of Tibet is complete, this small oasis of Tibetan culture may remain in other countries, but not in Tibet itself.

One other tragic aspect of the "China-ization" of Tibet relates to India's future. It is no longer a rumor that China installed many missiles capable of firing nuclear weapons in Tibet. It is obvious that their target is India. At the same time, many nuclear installations have been built in Tibet. Their nuclear waste and those from Chinese nuclear installations are buried in Tibet. We must remember that many rivers that run in the Indian subcontinent have their source in the Himalayas. The fact is that it would not be an exaggeration to say that the mountain ranges of the Indian Himalayas and the southern Himalayan hilly areas are the water source of the Indian subcontinent. Nuclear waste is continuously polluting this water. There is no doubt that this nuclear-polluted water comes to our country through the rivers. We do not know how much radioactivity comes from Chinese nuclear installations in the Ganges, the Karnali, the Satluj, the Sindh, and such small and large rivers. It is unfortunate that our government has never tried to investigate this.

It does not matter if we look from the viewpoint of human empathy, the lofty perspective of human rights, or from a national defense viewpoint. The Tibetan problem is a serious one for India. Therefore, ignoring it is a crime from both a humanitarian and a national perspective. The question arises as to what we can do in the present situation. We made a serious mistake after 1947 in accepting Chinese control of Tibet without any hesitation, and without thinking that there would be very dangerous consequences for us as a result of this wrong

policy. However, once we accepted Tibet as part of China, how could we interfere in the internal affairs of other countries? There is still the question of whether India had the right to recognize Tibet as an integral part of China. Tibet considered itself an independent nation, and there are historical and political proofs that Tibet was never part of China. Perhaps in some part of history, the Chinese controlled Tibet for a short time. How could India have the right to make decisions on the future of an independent nation? This question, therefore, should have been presented to the international community to evaluate under which international law the government of India of that period could recognize Chinese control of Tibet.

All of the world's countries, including India, talk about protecting human rights. The West has made it a political weapon. The 16 former republics of the Soviet Union are independent now, because they were historically not part of the Soviet Union. They were culturally different from the Russians also. The West accepted the independence of these republics. It is looking for standards to use for accepting the autonomy of the countries that are historically, geographically, culturally, and politically considered independent nations. In this context, the Tibetan question must be raised at the international level. Western nations hesitate to bring the Tibetan issue up for discussion for political and economic reasons. But for a country like India, this is a moral responsibility, as well as a national necessity.

The question of a nuclear installation in Tibet needs to be raised by India. We cannot give China the right to poison the water in Indian rivers. We cannot allow our present and future generations to suffer from physical deformities. We may not be in a position to wage war against China, and our culture teaches us to be peaceful. We do not have the tradition of interfering in the affairs of other countries outside of our borders. Perhaps it is our problem in a practical sense also that we do not pick fights with China. But this is a question of exchanging a hilly area of a few thousand square miles on the border. The question of where the McMahon line will be drawn between India and China can be discussed later. However, the harm done by the nuclear installation in Tibet is not tomorrow's problem, but a problem of today. We must raise it with full force.

The Dalai Lama preaches a message of peace. He believes that peace is not a war strategy, but a principle and a religious belief. Therefore, we must stay on the path of peace in every situation. But this path is not acceptable to China. History indicates that in spite of the spread of Buddhism in both countries, China never treated Tibet peacefully. It is also true that the Tibetans refused to take up arms in every confrontation. But if the Dalai Lama believes that the path of peace is the only alternative, then the other countries should not object. Still, we cannot conclude from this that we should accept Chinese high-handedness quietly. Raising the world's opinion is not an enemy-like task. The Tibetan leaders admit that as long as they are refugees in India, China

will not trust India's goodwill. Will we throw out the Tibetan refugees just so we can extend a friendly hand to China? For this, the Indian government will not be ready today, and the Indian nation will never be ready.

It is strange that our policy on Tibet has always been ambiguous. The days of raising slogans such as "Indians and Chinese are brothers" were the days when China attacked Tibet, forcing hundreds of thousands of Tibetans to flee and become refugees. We gave clemency to them in this country, and the fact is that we should not blindly trust anyone we call our brother. According to some people, this was a Chinese action against India for giving refuge to Tibetans. Still, we continue to say that Tibet is an integral part of China. Should we believe that we dealt Tibet to China after being scared by the Chinese attack in 1962, and to protect ourselves from a future attack? Will future historians say that India is ready to give up its human, democratic, and moral principles over a simple threat? It is necessary for us to gather our courage, and whatever decision our former government made regarding Tibet should be analyzed again. The oppression in Tibet and the attitude of China towards India has changed the situation, and keeping this in mind, we should be ready to review China's control over Tibet.

It is obvious that we have to suffer from the results of these problems. It is possible that China will increase its propaganda about Kashmir against us at an international level. It is also possible that our shameful trade, that we are starting with the border region of China, will be stopped. It is also possible that China will stop allowing travel to Mansarovar. But this is not much of a price to pay, especially when we keep in mind that in the new international rivalry that has resulted from the end of the Cold War, China will be our rival. The Tibetan leaders say that they do not want any bitterness between China and India because of them. But this is not because of the Tibetans alone. With the increasing interference by China in the Indian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean, our bitterness will increase either today or tomorrow.

Need a Homeland

93AS0927B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 9 Jun 93
p 4

[Editorial: "Where is the Tibetan's Tibet?"]

[Text] Was Tibet an independent nation before 1949? The Chinese government has issued a long white paper and is trying to tell us that Tibet was a Chinese province before that time. Therefore, the question of Chinese aggression does not arise. China's claim, however, is not only a distortion of history, but is also contrary to international protocol. The Tibetan refugees have refuted the Chinese claim in their oral statements. According to international laws, if a country has a specific part of the earth, the residents of that region have a specific nationality. If they have a legal government there, then this is an autonomous nation. Before

the Chinese attack, there was a Chinese ambassador stationed in Lhasa. This ambassadorial position was not established suddenly; it was there by tradition. If Tibet was a Chinese province, then it should have had a Chinese governor instead of an ambassador. In addition, as a neighboring nation, trade pacts with Tibet should have been conducted through the Chinese government and not the Tibetan government. It is clear that China sent its armies in 1949 to devour an independent nation and force hundreds of thousands of Tibetans to flee their country. This fact leads to the very important question of what the world community is doing for Tibet. The government of India at the time accepted Chinese supremacy over Tibet, and later accepted it as part of China. But how can two countries sit down, and under which principles of international law can they decide on the fate of a third nation? In spite of the Indian government's endorsement, the Tibetans still have the right to get rid of China and be an independent nation.

The Chinese white paper also claimed that the Tibetans are happy with Chinese rule. How can this claim be proved when foreign observers are not permitted to visit Tibet? The Dalai Lama asked: If the Tibetans are so happy, then why are they repeatedly rebelling against Chinese rule? According to a spokesman for the Dalai Lama, "The country that cannot give democracy to its own people cannot give democracy and freedom to the Tibetans." In the absence of any witnesses and in light of the account of China itself, it is clear that the Chinese claim is baseless. There are only three million Tibetans in Tibet now. Many Tibetans were forced to move to other regions of China. Hundreds of thousands are living as refugees in India, Nepal, and many Western countries. In contrast, many Chinese people have settled in Tibet, and they now outnumber the Tibetans. About 500,000 Chinese soldiers are stationed in Tibet. Therefore, if a Chinese white paper claims that the Tibetans are happy, then it is referring to Chinese citizens and soldiers. Based on this fact, it is the moral responsibility of the world community to take some action to help the Tibetans. It is not enough that various countries just welcome the Dalai Lama or give refuge to the Tibetans. This will only make China's task easier. It is important that they create conditions to help Tibetans return to their country and live respectfully there.

Dalai Lama Efforts Continuing

93AS0927C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 8 Jun 93
p 7

[Article by the Dalai Lama: "India is our Guru: It Should Show Courage Also"]

[Text] Relations with India and Tibet are like those between a guru and a disciple. This is a very profound relationship, and we have come here because of that relationship. You can see what we are doing here.

We can discuss the future of Tibet. This is a major issue. I have had the opportunity to express my gratitude to

you. India's and Tibet's relationship is religious, social, and cultural. The Tibetans have contributed to Indian culture. India is our guru and the center of our hopes. The paths of both countries are common. You all discuss Tibet with sympathy. During the last 34 years, we have been refugees in India. The Indian government settled us, and the Indian people gave us familial love, not allowing us to feel as if we were refugees. This does not happen anywhere else in the world but in India. How can we forget this?

We are trying different ways to free Tibet. Sometimes these efforts are initiated by the Tibetan people, and at other times they are encouraged by the cooperation of people here. There was a major campaign for independence in Tibet in 1987-88. China crushed it brutally. The world condemned China in strong words for this action. At that time, India did not talk as openly as it should have. However, such isolated incidents should not bother us. We have to look at it holistically. The relationship between the Tibetans and the Chinese is also spiritual. It is not a short-term relationship, but a permanent one. The world recognizes that Tibet is an extension of the Indian tradition. It is the second side of the same coin. The relationship between India and Tibet will continue when the latter becomes independent.

During the last 34 years, the Indian government has helped the Tibetan refugees and provided them sympathy as a guide. Because of its assistance, our children receive education and health services.

We have grown some. The mistakes we made in the past will help us to think about what to do in the future. During the sixties, it was said that Tibet was a dead issue. But the people who said that have now begun to believe that Tibet is still a burning question. How did this new optimism emerge? The truth always wins. There is another reason. The use of force and tyrannical rule violate people's human rights. The community rebels against such action. That is what happened in Tibet. It is important to discuss the direction this campaign will take now. We have to think of ways to implement it. We also have to think about the new dangers that Tibet is facing now.

The culture and nature of Tibet and China are different. We do not have to repeat this fact. China's culture and civilization have been separate, and we cannot ignore this fact. China believes that it was a strong nation in central Asia during the 13th century. During this time, China felt that it owned Tibet. It is a historical fact, though, that relations between Tibet and China have been as that of equals. Relations have never been like those of a slave and a master. The biggest question now relates to a change in Tibet's population. They are trying to destroy Tibet's indigenous culture through it. In addition, using Chinese education, efforts are being made to end Tibetan culture and history. With new education, they are creating a new group that is ignoring the Tibetan language. The Chinese who settle in Tibet come empty-handed and return after a few days as rich

people. The Tibetans are being deprived of handloom and other traditional skills. Thousands of Chinese are being settled in the Tibetan region. If this problem is not resolved immediately, then the Tibetans will become a minority in their own country, and Tibetan culture and religious traditions will disappear. The Tibetans have the right to an independent nation. In this context, I presented a five-point plan to China. Unfortunately, China did not respond satisfactorily to my proposal. We have not succeeded in our efforts so far. Now that there is the danger of changes in the population, and cultural destruction has occurred, the question of Tibetan independence has become even more important. When the Indian and Tibetan leaders met in the fifties, they said that they had been working cooperatively for over one thousand years, and that China could not attack India, because Tibet was between the two countries. This situation changed, however, because of Tibet's slavery. Still, we have not reached the point where we cannot do anything. We must stop the dangerous steps China is taking into Tibet. It is important that Tibet be declared a region of nonviolence and peace. This can be done by maintaining the present political situation. We are getting support from the whole world for this proposal. India should also provide leadership. During the last 16 years, I have tried to talk to China, even after being insulted by it.

We have tried to establish friendship and a relationship of brotherly and mutual trust with China. But China has not changed its attitude. The question of Tibet is tied to India's defense also. It is a national question, and it is above party politics. You are leading different political parties and groups here; think about it. India is Tibet's guru. If a disciple is in danger, the guru has some responsibility. As a guru, India has compassion and wisdom; it should also have courage. I am positive that the courage will emerge soon.

New Initiatives

93AS0927D New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 8 Jun 93
p 7

[Article by Ambarish Kumar: "The Hope and Aspirations of a New Initiative"]

[Text] There are expectations of a new initiative from our country on the Tibetan issue. The three-day workshop held in Dharamsala was tied to this hope. Politicians, social workers, experts in immigration and defense, journalists, foreign policy experts, and teachers actively participated in this meeting. There were many heated discussions, and people analyzed their roles in this issue. In the context of this issue, there were realistic discussions about the Indian government, political parties, various organizations, the role of the media, and the present international situation. Later, plans for the future were also made.

What India has to do with Tibet, and what role India played in this issue, were important topics. China is

making Tibet a dumping ground for its nuclear weapons. It is destroying Tibet's environment, and this will definitely affect India. But we are quiet, and our government is dreaming about trade and industrial relations with China.

The Dalai Lama's comment about so-called neutrality was very important. He said that India is Tibet's guru, and that the guru should be courageous. This situation is not new; it has been here since Nehru's time. Former Lok Sabha President Ravi Rai strongly criticized this situation and said that the ignorance and apathy we have shown on the Tibetan question have to be taken care of in a national and international context. This is the basic issue raised at the workshop. Ravi Rai considers that this ignorance belongs to the foreign policy of the government then. He said, "Nehru's foreign policy was determined by Kingsley Martin, editor of THE STATESMAN." He challenged Nehru's policies and said, "People become hot and then cool down. Their beliefs are influenced by the leaders of the time. The Himalayas do not defend us; we have to make India strong for our defense." Ravi Rai said that Tibet is a buffer nation. We have had relations with it for thousands of years, and it must become independent. He asked if we will need to request a permit to visit the Mansarovar Lake!

George Fernandes, commenting on the government's foreign policy, said that there is a strange contradiction in our foreign policy on this issue. India said before voting in the United Nations in 1965 that it supported Tibet's independence and was opposed to the destruction of its cultural identity. However, there was no discussion in the Indian Parliament over this issue. He criticized Narasimha Rao's planned trip to China and said, "Perhaps his memory is weak. We have forgotten that in this Parliament, we discussed getting every inch of our land back from China. China is still occupying 1,200 square miles of our country." George Fernandes said that we should not discuss Tibet; instead, we should discuss what our policy about China should be, since China is occupying Tibet.

Harkishore Singh, former foreign minister, said, "We made a mistake when China took over Tibet. The fact is that our foreign policy should be changed in this context."

Former Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey agreed that India is not using its strength in this context. He also stated that we should not build castles in the air; instead, we should stay within the reality of earth. During the last 20 years, the national income of China has quadrupled. Chinese defense expenditures have also increased. However, we should not be afraid of this. He continued, "Tibet has emerged as a diplomatic avenue for India. This has happened because of the Dalai Lama. He has tried to bring the Tibetan issue onto the international agenda, which will help us."

Professor Ramesh Babu believes that Tibetan policy should be formed with our own interests in mind, and

that the government should not have any objections on this issue. Meanwhile, defense expert O.N. Mehrotra wants the government to raise the Tibetan issue in the United Nations and the prime minister to discuss the issue during his trip to China. Professor V. Vivekanand said that we should not tolerate the policy of appeasement with China over the Tibetan issue. Kishan Patnayak raised an important question about the roles of government and Parliament in this context. He said, "When we are in the opposition, we discuss Tibet. When we are in the government, we do not raise this issue." He said that the government has stopped thinking about foreign policy issues, and that while we are talking a great deal about these issues, they have never arrived in Parliament. He added that all of these issues should be brought into Parliament to the political parties, and that leaders should raise these issues in their parties.

Mr. Ajit Singh, leader of the Janata Dal (A), said that this issue should be raised in Parliament. Mr. Trilok Tayagi, another Janata Dal (A) leader, reminded us that former Prime Minister Chowdhery Charan Singh had raised this issue very strongly, and that many leaders have opposed him.

The second issue at the workshop was India's security, law and order, and environment. George Fernandes started this discussion in his speech. He said that China is dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. It has constructed an airstrip there, and it is obviously not for tourism. In addition, China has set up missiles there. He adds that it has been difficult to trust China since 1950. China provides weapons worth \$35 billion to Myanmar, because it wants a route to the Arabian Sea. This is not possible through Tibet and Bangladesh. China already has access to Rangoon's port through Myanmar. He said that we have not succeeded in getting our territory back from China yet, and therefore, our independence is not complete.

Mr. Ravi Ranjan Subrayanam, a defense expert, gave descriptions of Chinese military preparation in Tibet. He said that China is stockpiling weapons in Tibet, and that the range of these weapons is very wide. This not only endangers India, but many SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries also. "If Tibet is freed, then we will be at an advantage, even with our lesser strength," he said, adding, "The way China is dumping German nuclear waste in Tibet troubles the whole world. China has to pay the price for this." According to Mr. Subrayanam, China plans to use 120,000 hectares of land as a strategic point. It has built intercontinental ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads in Tibet. Their range is 810 kilometers. In addition, it has missiles with the capability of reaching as far as 3,000 kilometers.

In the context of the Tibetan problem in this changing international situation, Dr. Ved Pratap Vedik said that the people attending this workshop should remember that we are riding the winning horse. Tibet must be freed, he said, and nobody can stop it. Croatia was freed

two days ago, and Abyssinia has already been freed. A year ago, no one expected that this would happen. Journalist Nikhil Chakravati expanded on his comments further. He said that the end of the Cold War has caused the situation to change. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it is expected that China will change its policy about Tibet. Muchkund Dube believes that the issue of human rights will prevent China from sitting in peace. George Fernandes clarified that the situation has changed greatly now, especially the attitudes of Britain, America, and European countries. The British government talked to the Dalai Lama for the first time. In the past it refused to even talk to him. He said that the Tibetan struggle is at a decisive point now. Mr. Vijay Karanti said, "In the same way we said we will not interfere until the last minute in Bangladesh, we expect our government to change its attitude about Tibet also." He said that China is formed by people of incompatible nationalities, and that its fall is imminent.

Mr. Shanta Kumar, former chief minister of Himachal Pradesh, said, "Usually, a wall is built between truth and rhetoric. Then, either the truth or the rhetoric loses its weight. The same is true about Tibet. There is no word for Tibet's problem, and what is true cannot be described." Kishan Patnayak believes that the distance between truth and rhetoric is caused by lack of action. We must take action. "We can find all the words in the dictionary. When we work hard on words, then they become the truth."

Legislator Virender Singh expressed surprise that even though Marxism supports those who raise their voice against exploitation, China is still occupying Tibet.

Indian Supporters Abound

93AS0927E New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 8 Jun 93
p 7

[Article by Anand Kumar: "Support For Tibetan Freedom"]

[Text] The people of Tibet have always considered Indians as their spiritual gurus. It is natural for these people to look hopefully at India now that Tibet has become a victim of the Chinese rulers' expansionist designs. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, the new government of China, under an organized plan, extended its control over Tibet between 1949 and 1959. Tibet has requested assistance from the United Nations since November 1950, but the world has not listened to it. Thousands of Tibetans, including the Dalai Lama, were forced to become refugees to avoid becoming slaves. The entire Tibetan government was expelled. India gave them refuge.

Initial Phase: India offered hospitality. At the same time, under the leadership of Jaya Prakash Narayan, a nationwide campaign was started in 1959 against China's baby murderers in Tibet. National conferences were held in Calcutta (30-31 May 1959) and Madras (3 June 1959). At these conferences, historian Arsi Mazumbar, Dr. P. C.

Ghosh, Harivishnu Kamath, Dr. Dev Prasad Ghosh, Somendar Nath Tagore, Professor Mukat Bihari Lal, Kazi Abdul Badud, and Professor Ratna Swami took part. Mr. Hirdaynath Kunjru, Rukumani Asandel, K.M. Munshi, V.K.R.V. Rao, Maganbhai Desai, Sadashiv Karath, S.N. Duvavedi, Master Tara Singh, and Faridul Haq Ansari sent in their statements in support. Later, J.P. Narayan organized the first international conference in support of Tibet in New Delhi in 1960. Representatives from 19 countries including Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, and Vietnam jointly gave their support to the Dalai Lama and appealed to the United Nations and the world to help free Tibet from the Chinese. The Tibetan plight has been a basic challenge to such national leaders as Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendar Prasad, Rajaji, Dr. Ambedekar, Ram Manohar Lohia, Dindyal Upadhyaye, Chowdhery Charan Singh and their followers.

After the Tianenman Square Massacre: In March 1989 in Lhasa, and in June 1989 in Beijing and other major cities, young men and other citizens were mercilessly massacred. Once again, the demonic face of the Chinese government was exposed to the whole world. On 12-13 August 1989, the first international conference on peace in Tibet and south Asia was held under the leadership of George Fernandes in New Delhi. Mr. Nijalingappa, Giani Zail Singh, Madhu Dandvate, Lal Karishan Advani, General Arora and hundreds of other leaders, retired military officers, educators, literary scholars, and leaders in the area of environments and human rights took active part in this conference. Representatives from all major countries and organizations attended this conference. During this period over 100 legislators of the Congress (I) submitted an all-party communique to then-president of the Lok Sabha Mr. Balram Jakhar and expressed India's objection to violation of human rights and damage to Tibetan culture.

The Indo-China Friendship Conference, 1992: In this context, an India-Tibet friendship conference was held in New Delhi on 14-15 February 1992. It was inaugurated by the Dalai Lama, and over 2,000 representatives from all over the country took part in it. The Tibet Liberation Campaign committee was established at this conference.

Recently, an important accomplishment was made in this context when the all-party Pro-Tibet Legislative Front was organized under the leadership of legislator Mohan Singh. Under this committee, meetings and demonstrations were held on a large scale on 10 March 1992, 20 October 1992, and 10 March 1993.

Dharamsala Workshop, 1993: The pro-Tibet workshop held in Dharamsala on 29-31 May 1993 proved to be very helpful to this campaign. At this workshop, active Tibet support groups and persons held a realistic dialogue. The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government representatives also participated. According to the conclusion of this workshop, preparations will be made for an avenue for international hearings in Delhi soon, so

that people may learn about the campaign for independence in Lhasa. Later, at the end of August, legislators from across the nation will meet in Delhi. In addition, an Asia Peace Conference will be held, to be inaugurated by the Dalai Lama. In our country's capital, an India-Tibet festival will be organized in October or December. At this festival, a public commendation of the Dalai Lama will be presented for his efforts on behalf of world peace and his efforts to establish a nonviolent world community. The next plan for this committee is to unite various parties and youth organizations in the country, and to ask the help of the Indian people to participate in the sorrows of Tibet.

Chakma Refugees Said to Fear Return to Bangladesh

93AS0924C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 15 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Gyan Pathak: "In the End, Chakma Refugees Cannot Return"]

[Text] The Chakma refugees have refused to return to Bangladesh. The assurance that the Bangladesh Government gave to India is not very dependable. Most of these refugees believe that their problems will not be resolved simply by returning to their motherland. Because of mass murders and atrocities committed against the Chakma people, thousands of them were forced to flee from the Chakma region in the Chatgaon mountain ranges many years ago. Both countries have agreed to the systematic return of these people by the end of June. Mr. Upendra Lal Chakma, president of the Chakma Refugee Welfare Committee, said that they do not trust the government of Bangladesh, because it does not fulfill its promises. Therefore, the question of returning without any written agreement does not arise. It is important to mention here that the Bangladesh Government has not made any agreement with the Chakma rebels, refugees, or their representatives.

Recently, the Bangladesh minister of communication, Mr. Oli Ahmed, visited six Bangladeshi refugee camps in Tripura. The refugees presented him with a letter stating their 13 demands. However, Mr. Ahmed did not assure them that their demands would be granted. He refused to answer questions about at least two of the demands. These demands are that the military deployed in the hills of Chatgaon be moved, and that the Bangladesh Muslims settled there be returned.

These refugees do not have any faith in the five point agreement reached between the governments of India and Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Government assured the Indian Government that it would take the necessary steps to encourage the refugees to return to Bangladesh. These refugees, who have been persecuted by the Bangladesh Muslims and their army and are leading a hard life here, are naturally afraid to go back. They have suffered mass murders, looting, rapes, and a forced change of religion. They knocked at the doors of the

governments of India and Bangladesh, as well as international organizations, to protect them from atrocities.

The Chakma problem is an old one for this country, and it was first recognized by the British. This region became important when the empire spread to Burma and Mizoram. Later, in 1890, in this hilly region between Myanmar, Mizoram, and Tripura, residency of outside people was banned.

During the rule of tribal leaders, the Chakma people lived peacefully and practiced their own cultural ways. A few years later, however, it was felt that in spite of the strict permit system, outsiders had succeeded in settling in this region. As a result of this, these restrictions were strictly imposed after 1935, and the region was declared fully inaccessible to outside people. This situation remained until India became independent.

As soon as India was divided after independence, the problems of the Chakma tribal people began. The Chatgaon hills region and its population came under East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) boundaries. Pakistan maintained the special status of the Chakma region until 1955, but brought it under East Pakistan's government at that time. The Chakma people resisted this order strongly. The Pakistani government, under political pressure, changed its position. But three years later, in 1958, military rule was established in Pakistan, and the political process was destroyed there. The Chatgaon region was open to outsiders, and the army also accelerated its activities there. All restrictive laws were nullified in 1964. Afterwards, the Chakma people were considered strangers, even in their own region.

The period of undescrivable atrocities against the Chakma people started at that time. There was a scarcity of land in East Pakistan, and the Pakistani Government started to settle Muslims there on a large scale. The Muslims started to exploit the Chakma people as soon as they arrived there. Incidents of mass rapes and murders were common. In response, Chakma tribes formed a war party called Shanti Vahini, and they took arms. This group intermittently attacked the military and the innocent public during the seventies. After the establishment of Bangladesh in 1971, the atrocities against Chakmas increased because of open endorsement by the Bangladesh army. During the seventies and the eighties, about 60,000 Chakma people entered India to protect themselves.

Mr. Vimal Bhikkhu, a Buddhist holy man who had fled that area, referred to a report presented at the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs at the World Chakma Conference held last month in Calcutta, and said that 200,000 people had been killed worldwide, one third of which were Chakma people killed by the army and Bangladesh Muslims. He accused the Bangladesh Government of adopting the policy of Islamization and said that Muslim families numbered 25,000 in the Chatgaon hills in 1980. This number increased to 100,000 in 1981, and 250,000 in 1982.

In the six Chakma refugee camps of Tripura, India's northeastern state, there are reportedly 55,000 Chakma people. The Central and state governments spend millions of rupees on these camps every year. Government, legal, and administrative problems add to this. It has become a very complex problem for India.

Support for Tibetan Independence Alive

93AS0962A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 19 Jun 93
p 4

[Article by Krishna Nath: "Three Approaches to Tibetan Independence"]

[Text] The whole rainbow of Indian politics merged in Dharamsala over the question of Tibet. It was nice to see this development. People of various political beliefs and members of Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Janata Dal, and even the Communist Party of India, and the Sarvodaya, which is outside of politics, have gathered together like friends on the question of Tibet's freedom. I have visited Dharamsala several times, but this was the first time I saw such a rainbow of politics in the Dharamsala sky. This rainbow had all of the colors, but at the same time, it was above all of the colors. Seeing a rainbow is a good omen in India and in Tibet. It seems the time is getting closer when Tibet will regain its lost independence and will be able to protect human rights, its culture, and existence. I felt a warmth in my heart. It seems that independence for Tibet will come soon.

This does not mean that Tibet will get its freedom tomorrow. If it does not get its freedom tomorrow, then we have to do something the day after tomorrow. In the life of a nation, five to ten years are equal to one moment. Therefore, one moment here means five to ten years. We do not know if this will happen during our lifetimes. We hope and pray that this great event happens during the life of the holy Dalai Lama.

It is not clear when the time will come—in five or ten years, or more or less. The truth is that there is happiness in independence, and a slave cannot be happy even in his dreams. In the same way, I cannot be happy as a slave, and I will continue to be unhappy. The Tibetan brothers are unhappy in slavery and will be happy when they are independent. This happiness is sought by all, and no one can suppress this desire. There is no power that can do it. This is Lord Shiva's desire.

In this era, many empires have fallen. After World War II, the empires of Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, France, and other Western nations fell. Recently, the Russian empire in eastern Europe also fell. Could anyone have foreseen all of this? Similarly, the empire of the Huan Chinese will not last forever. The leadership of communist China is very old, and the youth in China want democracy. The youth revolt in Tiananmen Square was forcibly crushed; however, rebellion is smoldering inside. Actually, the Republic of China and even Taiwan are not in support of Tibet's freedom. It has been taught that Tibet is a part of China. But the Chinese youth who

are suffering under communist Chinese injustice, as well as those living in exile, understand the pain of Tibet very well.

Recently there was a powerful demonstration in Lhasa for Tibet's independence. This began when a high-level deputation from the European Community visited, and many Tibetans were arrested, and the people demonstrated against these arrests. The European deputation refused the Chinese Government's invitation to dinner. They said that this step was against the human rights they had come to protect. That led to demonstrations and protests in Lhasa. One reason for this is an unprecedented increase in prices. The meetings held by the Buddhist priests and citizens in opposition to price increases continued beyond the approved time limit. To end the meetings, the Chinese military shot at innocent citizens, and many people were killed. This demonstration was the largest one since 1985. This is the character of the independence campaign; its rule is that every demonstration is greater than its predecessor until the goal of independence is reached.

There are three spheres of Tibet's independence. In the first sphere is the holy Dalai Lama and the Tibetan brothers and sisters living in exile with him. They live in a large number, about 150,000, in India. However, the Tibetan people are spread all over the world now. They have many centers in Europe, some in the United States, and some in Australia. I am not sure whether they have some centers in Africa or not. I have seen Tibetan groups in many parts of the world with my own eyes. This ingenious minority has placed the question of Tibet's independence and the protection of its culture on the world stage. This is the inner circle, and it is directly related to Tibet.

The second circle is India and its neighboring countries. Among these, India's relations with Tibet are the closest. In one sense, the relationship is of a teacher and a disciple, and in another, of two neighboring countries. From a selfish perspective, it is one of defense and economics. Pundit Nehru sensed this when he gave Tibet to communist China. But he also started to repent. The prime ministers that followed him, be they Congress members or not, inherited Pundit Nehru's sin, but are afraid to repent. In India, fear of China, and in Western countries and the United States, the greed for the Chinese market, are the greatest blocks in the path to Tibet's independence. The question of Tibet is our greatest responsibility. From both a selfish and idealistic perspective, the independence of Tibet is in our country's interests. The lack of defense on the Himalayan front is due to China's arrival in Tibet. Otherwise, there is no border between India and China. The border is between India and Tibet. As long as there is snow in the Himalayas and water in the Sindh, the Ganges, the Jamuna, and the Brahmaputra, India and Tibet will remain friends. This friendship has always been there, and it will continue forever.

Along with India, there are western Asian nations in this circle. For example, Sinkiang is eastern Turkistan. Western Turkistan has been under the former Soviet Union. Eastern Turkistan is still smoldering under Chinese imperialism. Then there are the Ghumam tribes of Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia. At one time they ran over the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific under the hooves of their horses. Now only one group of them is independent. The remaining groups are eager for independence. Mongolia is basically independent; however, Inner Mongolia is still under Chinese control. Then there is Taiwan. This is the democratic state of the exiled Chinese. Its president supports Tibet's self-government. He wants to invite the holy Dalai Lama, even though he is not fully independent of the Chinese government. They have been oppressed by communist China. Unhappiness always makes people chaste. Perhaps the Chinese republic of Taiwan can understand the unhappiness associated with exile. Next is the island of Hong Kong. It will become part of the mainland. There is no meaning to the Chinese assurance that only Chinese supremacy will be established there and Hong Kong will be independent in social and economic issues. A similar assurance was given to Tibet by the Chinese.

The third circle related to this is Europe and America. It is in the distance; however, because of its strength, the United States of America is very important. It is the leader of democratic countries in the world, regardless of whether they want this or not. It has the ability to interfere effectively in this situation. The United States gave China most favored nation status for trade on the condition that China would make improvements in human rights, especially regarding Tibet. This is an important condition, because U.S. trade is very important for China's modernization and economic development. China has accumulated a trade surplus of \$18 billion with the United States. On the other hand, however, U.S. businessmen are looking at a huge market of one billion Chinese. They will benefit and are very greedy about it. This trade profit and greed pressures the United States not to destroy its relations with China. Meanwhile, the independence spirit and awareness of the situation also bothers the United States about human rights violations in Tibet. Resolutions have been introduced both in the U.S. Senate and Congress stating that Tibet is a Chinese-occupied country, and that human rights violations in Tibet cannot be tolerated. However, this is a paradox. There is not much power in words; greed for trade and profits is much more powerful. We do not know why truth is always weak for shorter periods. Why is a lie so powerful?

Looking at these domains or circles, we are reminded of an incident related to Indian politics. It is said that in the days when Chankya was walking around after being insulted by the Magadh emperor and was burning in the fire of revenge, he saw a small boy eating a chapati (round, flat bread) from the center instead of the corner. The boy's hand was burning, and he was unable to break the bread. The boy's mother scolded him and said, "You

are stupid like Chankya. He tried to break up the Magadh empire from the center, and you are trying to break the bread from the center. Bread should not be broken from the center, but from the corner." Chankya heard it all and began to break up the empire on its western border. Perhaps the Chinese empire will not break in Beijing or Shanghai, but at its borders. Therefore, it is important to work with the second and the third circle in addition to the inner circle. The roles of India and the United States of America are most important in this effort.

The truth will be realized soon. The time is coming. Perhaps we feel that we are not doing what we should be doing. It has been said that when the peacock dances and looks at his feet, he becomes coy. His feathers are very beautiful, and each feather has a deep blue eye. But his feet are dirty. We are playing coyly in the same manner, perhaps because this is the first time that we are in the middle of so much activity. All of Lord Indra's regime has gathered here; however, when a rainbow is visible in the sky, then it disappears without leaving a mark. Then some people think that it was all an illusion. But hope remains.

(This article is based on a speech given during the 29-31 May pro-Tibet conference held in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh.)

Bangladesh, Pakistan Blamed for Abetting Terrorism

BK1607154593 Calcutta ANANDABAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali 2 Jul 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Daring Attack"]

[Text] Naga guerrillas launched their biggest attack on an army convoy in Manipur recently and killed 26 soldiers and six civilians. This operation was conducted by a group of about 75 guerrillas in the inaccessible jungle area near the Burmese border. Two guerrillas were also killed in the incident. The skill with which the guerrillas operated modern weapons and their swift disappearance from the place of operation can be compared with any movie scene. These guerrillas belong to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland [NSCN], who had earlier ambushed several army convoys on the road bordering Nagaland and Manipur and looted arms. Like the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] terrorists of Assam, these Naga guerrillas have also started extorting nationalized banks and other agencies. They also threaten to kill those who refuse to comply with their demands.

Their latest attack on the army convoy has made the people, particularly the employees of nationalized banks and other agencies, panicky. The Naga guerrillas have not confined their activities to Nagaland. They have extended their field of operation into Manipur and other neighboring states. These terrorists have also established links with the ULFA; the Khasi extremists of Meghalaya; the ATTF [All Tripura Tribal Force] of Tripura; and the Garo extremists of Bangladesh.

As the camps of the Naga guerrillas are located in the border areas of the jungles of Burma, they have also been able to establish contacts with the guerrilla organizations of that country. In addition to receiving modern weapons from the Burmese guerrillas, these Nagas have also become engaged in drug trafficking. Due to this, the entire northeastern region of India has become a haven for drug smugglers. Similar to the narco-terrorism in Latin American countries, the nexus between the secessionists and drug traffickers in this part of India has created an alarming situation.

The situation has become more complex as the intelligence agencies of Pakistan and Bangladesh have established contacts with the terrorists of the region. Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence [ISI] is also providing arms, ammunition, training, and finance to the terrorists of Punjab and Kashmir. Their conspiracy in Punjab has failed. Even in Kashmir, the relationship between the ISI and the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front [JKLF] has split. That is why they have now shifted their attention to the northeastern region of India with a view to destabilizing it. A report containing evidence of the involvement of Pakistan's and Bangladesh's intelligence agencies in terrorist activities has been prepared by the Congress Coordination Committee of the northeastern region and sent to the party high command.

India's northeastern region, comprised of different ethnic groups, is a fertile ground for demonstration, rebellion, and secessionism. Rebellion started in this region long before it started in Punjab and Kashmir. After the formation of several ethnic states and establishment of representative governments, the secessionist organizations gradually merged with the mainstream political parties. Later, some minor terrorist groups emerged. The NSCN, the ATTF, the ULFA, the Bodo, and the Khasi extremists belong to this group of terrorists. They are not only waging a war against the army and the government but have also launched a campaign of repression through extortion and kidnapping. Their links with Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Burma have not only helped them to acquire modern weapons but also to receive the training to operate them. The chief minister of Assam has elaborated a strategy to launch coordinated movement against these terrorist groups in the northeastern region and has proposed that the center provide 95 additional battalions of Central Reserve Force for this purpose. The Central Government should consider this proposal seriously.

Formation of Regional Trade Bloc Seen as Difficult

BK1307120193 Calcutta ANANDABAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali 9 Jul 93 p 4

[Editorial: "This Is Not the Solution"]

[Text] The Indo-Bangladesh Joint Trade Council established in October 1981 had its first meeting in July 1993. For so long this council remained dormant. It would

have completed 12 years of inactivity after three months if the July meeting had not been held. There is still doubt as to whether the second meeting of the council will be held within the next 12 years. But the talks held this month indicate that initiative will be taken to boost bilateral trade.

Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, India's commerce minister, has said that the government is considering reducing customs duties on various items imported from Bangladesh. The reason behind this one-sided move is to alter the trade imbalance between the two countries. In 1992, Bangladesh imported goods worth \$230 million from India. On the other hand, an estimate from Bangladesh's Export Promotion Bureau shows that during the same year goods worth \$2.1 million were exported to India. This shows that India's export earnings from Bangladesh are 100 times greater than the cost of its imports from that country. But this figure is not accurate. Actually the trade imbalance is much higher. It may be mentioned that the amount of money spent by Bangladeshi nationals in Calcutta for different purposes including medical treatment, educational expenses, and shopping is much higher than the amount spent by Indian nationals in Bangladesh. The figures of such expenses are not available in official records but through such activities the wealth of one country goes to another. Apart from this, a huge amount of Indian goods enters Bangladesh unofficially due to transborder smuggling which is rampant along Bangladesh's border with West Bengal. This unofficial trade also favors India. Bangladesh has to import more from India than it exports to that country. Experts are of the opinion that Bangladesh's trade deficit with India may exceed \$1 billion annually.

This figure indicates that there is a flaw in bilateral trade relations. India does not need to import goods from Bangladesh equivalent to what it exports to that country. For a long time, Bangladesh has been requesting that India lift import duties on Bangladesh goods. The Central Government of India has agreed to lift import duties on two items—Jamdani saree and Hilsa fish from Bangladesh. It seems that India may lift import duties on some more goods imported from Bangladesh.

It has been reported that countries of the South Asian region are making efforts to expand regional trade. With this goal in view, the South Asian leaders recently signed an accord on a South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement. But this accord does not stipulate a time frame for its implementation. Bangladesh is pleading that customs duties on its products be withdrawn until the preferential trade arrangement is implemented.

Regional trade blocs are being formed throughout the world. Such groupings have been formed in North America, Europe, and East Asia. Why shouldn't South Asia form such a grouping? India's move to establish special trade links with Bangladesh is laudable. But the formation of a greater regional trade bloc is difficult in

South Asia because of political complexities and unfavorable economic conditions. India has received proposals from Bangladesh for establishing joint venture industries. Bangladesh has also sought Indian technology transfer for the textile and coal mining sectors. Setting up joint venture industries will lay the foundation for favorable bilateral trade relations. India will not lose much by reducing customs duties on goods imported from Bangladesh. Will Bangladesh gain much from this reduction?

Internal Affairs

Proceedings in Gandhi Assassination Trial Reported

Prosecutor's Opening

93AS0954A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 6 May 93
p 4

[Boldface words and quotation marks as published]

[Text] Madras, May 5. Opening the trial in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case today at the Poonamallee Court complex near here, the Special Public Prosecutor, Mr. P. Rajamanickam, representing the Special Investigation Team (SIT), narrated the facts of the case, including the alleged motive for the May 21, 1991 assassination of Rajiv Gandhi at a Congress(I) election rally at Sriperumbudur, the LTTE's [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] "conspiracy" behind it and the details of its execution.

The prosecution opened the case under Sec. 226 Cr.PC.

Describing the "modus operandi" as "devilishly unique", he said the suicidal bombing of the leader and 17 others involving a young female assassin was masterminded and transposed from the realm of fiction to reality by Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, the supermo of the outlawed Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

The case was heard by the Designated Court (1) in the presence of all the 26 available accused. After the prosecution's presentation, the presiding Judge, Mr. S.M. Siddickk, adjourned further hearing in the trial to May 12.

Mr. Rajamanickam said the prosecution case was that the conspiracy to assassinate the former Prime Minister was hatched by Mr. Prabhakaran, the LTTE's intelligence wing chief, Pottu Amman, and deputy chief of the women's intelligence wing, Akila, at Jaffna and other places between July 1987 and May 1991. (The three have been declared "proclaimed offenders" by the Court).

In furtherance of the plot, the LTTE militants infiltrated into India in different groups either under the guise of refugees or otherwise, fixed places of residences at various places in Madras and elsewhere, got acquainted

with the local Tamils who were sympathetic to their cause and used them with their consent to successfully execute their plot, he said.

Hatred and anger for Rajiv: Mr. Rajamanickam dwelt at length on the motive behind the assassination by tracing the history of Sri Lankan Tamil politics from 1983 and Rajiv Gandhi's role since 1985. He linked the motive with Mr. Prabhakaran's hatred and anger towards Rajiv Gandhi for the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987 and Rajiv's commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

Mr. Rajamanickam said among the many militant and moderate groups struggling for a separate "Eelam" in Sri Lanka, the best armed and most ruthless was the LTTE, which tried to project itself as the sole representative of the island's Tamils.

After he became the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi took the initiative to bring the Sri Lankan Government and the various Tamil groups to the negotiating table, but the Thimpu round of talks (in 1985) failed and hostilities resumed between the militants and Sri Lankan forces. Ultimately, keeping the interests of all parties, Rajiv Gandhi worked out the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, the Prosecutor said.

Mr. Prabhakaran was not satisfied with the accord's main feature guaranteeing Sri Lanka's sovereignty which went against the LTTE's separatist objective. During his stay in New Delhi when the accord was signed (between Rajiv Gandhi and the then Sri Lankan President, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene), Mr. Prabhakaran felt he had been "stabbed in the back and betrayed by India and Rajiv Gandhi," Mr. Rajamanickam said.

The other Tamil groups, however, welcomed the accord, which assigned the Indian Army the role of keeping peace in north and eastern Sri Lanka, he said.

The Prosecutor said the seed of hatred for Rajiv Gandhi started growing in Mr. Prabhakaran's mind because the former gave equal importance to all the Tamil groups in Sri Lanka and did not treat the LTTE as the Tamils' only representative organisation.

He also referred to Mr. Prabhakaran's speech at a public meeting at Sudumalai, Jaffna on August 4, 1987, where the militant leader said he was surrendering arms under pressure, and to the "reluctant and half-hearted surrender of arms" by the LTTE. It was sore that the Sri Lankan Government was lethargic in rehabilitating displaced Tamils and with the allotment of seats in the Interim Council envisaged in the accord, he said.

Other circumstances: Other circumstances that deepened the LTTE leader's acrimony towards Rajiv Gandhi were the death of Dileepan, a senior LTTE functionary, who died fasting in September 1987, and the suicide of 12 LTTE men, including Pulendran and Kumarappa, when they were captured by the Sri Lankan Navy. All this led

to the armed conflict between the LTTE and the Indian Peace-Keeping Forces (IPKF).

"This is clearly indicative of the way of working of Prabhakaran's LTTE: making a pretence of surrendering arms on August 6, 1987, as though to implement the accord, he was waiting for an opportune moment to take up arms."

Mr. Rajamanickam said the LTTE believed that anyone who wished for the IPKF's continued presence in Sri Lanka was a "traitor". The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leader, Amirthalingam and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) leader, K. Padmanabha, were eliminated in a gruesome manner for favouring the IPKF's continuance.

The Prosecutor said worried by the upswing in Rajiv Gandhi's popularity even while he was in the Opposition, Mr. Prabhakaran took the decision to kill Rajiv Gandhi as he thought that this was the only way to prevent him from coming back to power.

Sivarasam alias Packiachandran was chosen by Mr. Prabhakaran and Pottu Amman to head the gang to execute the assassination because of his ability to carry out a deadly mission in another country, which he had demonstrated by leading a team to massacre Padmanabha and others in June 1990.

The Prosecutor said that in a typical intelligence operation, two groups consisting of some who were of Indian origin were first sent to India by Sivarasam to take houses on rent in Madras and merge into the city's background. Accused Vijayan, his wife Selvalakshmi and her father Baskaran came first in September 1990 and a second group (Robert Payas, his family Jayakumar and his wife Shanthi) followed some days later.

Role of accused: Mr. Rajamanickam, who heads a team of prosecutors, narrated the various movements of Sivarasam, the financial assistance he had offered for renting of houses by bringing in gold and his consultations with the leadership in Jaffna. Shanmughavadivelu, another accused, assisted Sivarasam by encashing the gold and distributing it to other conspirators. He outlined the important stage of the plot involving Sriharan, a hardcore LTTE cadre, who was received by Shanmugham, a resident of Kodiakkarai on the Vedaranyam coast, and the family of Padma, a nurse in a private hospital at Madras, who lived with her daughter Nalini and son Bagyanathan.

Muthuraja, a native Tamil and an LTTE member, who was close to this family, introduced Bagyanathan and Perarivalan, who were both assisting the LTTE's political wing in Madras, to Nishanthan, an LTTE intelligence wing member. From then on, various conspirators got acquainted with one another.

Mr. Rajamanickam also elaborated on the role of other accused, including 'Subha' Sundaram, a freelance photographer whose office was 'a meeting place' for LTTE

cadre like Baby Subramaniam, a high-ranking LTTE leader, Muthuraja and others. He went on to link the accused with various aspects of the conspiracy till the arrival of the core group on May 1.

The Court was told that the nine-member group included the belt bomb assassin Dhanu, Sivarasan, Subha and Nehru, an expert wireless operator. They started operating at Madras from the three houses rented by Jayakumar, Vijayan and Baskaran. A "dry run" was conducted at a meeting addressed by the former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh on August 7 where Subha and Dhanu handed a garland to the leader. This was to examine the scale of security for a former Prime Minister and the possibility of access to a VVIP.

Subha and Dhanu wrote to Akila and Pottu Amman about the rehearsal, while Bagyanathan wrote a letter to Baby Subramaniam, affirming his loyalty to "Tamil Eelam." The three letters were given to Sriharan for being taken to Jaffna but, on reaching Kodiakkara on May 12, 1991, he returned to Madras on the pretext that the boat for his clandestine trip did not arrive. He had given the bag containing these letters and other items to an employee of Shanmugham, who concealed the bag in a pit. The bag was later recovered by the SIT.

Mr. Rajamanickam said Arivu had bought battery cells which were used by Dhanu to detonate her waist belt bomb. The details of the actual assassination were finalised on May 20, 1991, in the house of Padma, where specific tasks were assigned to each person.

Sivarasan, Dhanu, Subha and Nalini joined photographer Haribabu, who was engaged to record the assassination, at the venue of the Sriperumbudur public meeting. Rajiv Gandhi arrived at about 22-10 hrs. and was listening to a Hindi poem by a young girl when Dhanu came in close proximity to detonate the improvised device on her waist.

The plot successfully executed, the group started to evade arrest. Mr. Rajamanickam narrated their attempts to escape and the various harbourers who offered them shelter and assistance in hiding themselves. However, SIT's relentless pressure led to Sivarasan getting trapped in a hideout. Ultimately, he shot himself in August 1991, while Subha and five others consumed cyanide at their hideout at Konanakunte in Bangalore.

The Prosecutor also mentioned the seizure of diaries, documents, wireless sets and other objects in connection with the case. He concluded by listing the specific charges against the 26 accused, all of them under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activity (Prevention) Act.

Counsel for accused: The State Legal Aid Committee has appointed counsel for some of the accused. The defence lawyers who were present today were Mr. S. Doraisamy, Mr. D. Kumar and Mr. Ramadas. The prosecution team included Mr. Jacob Daniel, Mr. Dinakaran, Mr. A.T. Dante and Mr. Panchapakesan.

The SIT Chief, Mr. D.R. Karthikeyan, and his colleagues were also present.—PTI

19 May Testimony

93AS0954B Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 20 May 93 p 4

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Madras, May 19 (UNI): The 'human bomb' Dhanu, had taken ill when the final touches to the conspiracy to assassinate the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, was being given by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Tigers (LTTE) militant, Sivarasan, on May 20, 1991, the eve of the fateful day.

Disclosing this to the designated court trying the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case, the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) public prosecutor, Mr. Jacob Daniel, said Dhanu was immediately taken to a nursing home where Padma, the mother of the first accused, Nalini, was working, and given treatment.

The assassin, who was prescribed Brufen, an anti-inflammatory analgesic, recovered in time to carry out the diabolical plot to eliminate Rajiv Gandhi the next day.

Mr. Daniel, who had on May 12 presented the prosecution case in Tamil for the benefit of some of the accused who did not follow English, resumed the Tamil presentation on Wednesday. The presentation remained incomplete.

As Mr. Daniel rose to present the prosecution case, Nalini got up and said that her husband Murugan, who could follow only Tamil, was not present in the court and hence the case should be adjourned.

When the prosecution said the judge had the powers to summon him the presiding officer, Mr. S.M. Siddick, said Murugan had filed a petition before him stating that he was suffering from gastroenteritis and expressed his inability to attend the hearing.

The prosecution, at this stage, told the court that the case relating to Murugan could be explained in Tamil separately following which the judge asked the prosecution to go ahead.

Barring Murugan, all the 25 accused were present during the hearing at the high security sub-jail in suburban Poonamallee.

LTTE's Role Confirmed

Five letters written by the key accused in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case to the LTTE leadership in Jaffna, coupled with the photographs of the assassination taken by LTTE sympathiser, Haribabu, have provided damning evidence of the Tamil militant group's involvement in the former Prime Minister's killing, the prosecution told the designated court.

Mr. Daniel said the letters written by Dhanu, and her standby, Subha, to the LTTE's women's wing leader, Akila, and the group's intelligence chief, Pottu Amman, on May 5, 1991, reaffirmed their steadfastness in accomplishing the task assigned to them. They informed the Jaffna-based LTTE leaders that they were waiting for an opportune occasion which would take place within that month.

In their letters to Pottu Amman, reference has been made to the 'dry run' conducted at a public meeting addressed by the former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, at Madras on May 7, 1991, where Subha and Dhanu managed to hand over a garland to Mr. Singh while Sivarasan, Nalini, Haribabu and Perarivalan watched the 'show' from press enclosure. While mentioning the episode in the letter, they said they were looking for such an opportune occasion.

The conspirators also wanted to find out whether Sivarasan could gain entry into the press enclosure by posing as a reporter and if Haribabu, who perished in the blast, could be allowed to record the event, Mr. Daniel said.

The third letter written by an Indian LTTE sympathiser, Bhagyanathan, to a top LTTE leader, Baby Subramaniam, on May 10, 1991, reaffirming his loyalty to the cause of the Tamil Eelam, "even at the cost of his life", carried a bottom line: "success is ours."

Mr. Daniel said the last two letters that indicated the LTTE's involvement in the killing were written by LTTE's leader of the political wing in India Gungu Santhan, which were from an Indian LTTE sympathiser, Irumburai, on October 30, 1991, when he attempted to cross over to Jaffna from Rameswaram by boat.

As the Special Investigation Team (SIT) seized all the wireless sets of LTTE, Santhan wrote a detailed letter to the Tigers' chief, Vellupillai Prabhakaran, narrating the events in India and cited reasons for their defeat. He also gave a note to Irumburai, advising him not to tell the leader (Prabhakaran) that he was aware of the Rajiv Gandhi assassination matter before the killing took place, he said.

Mr. Daniel elaborated on how the nine member killer gang, which included Dhanu, Sivarasan, Subha and Nehru, an expert wireless operator, had landed at Kodiakarai on May 1, 1991.

He said eight of the nine-member gang led by Sivarasan after a brief stay at the house of Shanmugam, a mirasidar at Kodiakarai, split into three groups and occupied houses already taken on rent on the city outskirts by two separate gangs sent earlier by Sivarasan.

Mr. Daniel said on May 20, Subha and Dhanu joined Nalini at her house at Villivakkam and prayed at a temple for the successful execution of the plot.

At this stage, the defense counsel, Mr. S. Doraisamy, wanted to know whether the prosecution was citing 'God' as a witness in the case, plunging the court into laughter.

On the same day, Sivarasan finalised the details of the plot and assigned specific tasks to each person. After executing the plot, Sivarasan and others thought they could easily escape to Jaffna as they did after the killing the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) leader, Padmanabha, and others. But the photographs of Haribabu unmasked them to prove that "no crime is perfect," he said.

Describing the assassination as a "terrorist act," Mr. Daniel said after the SIT launched a massive manhunt, Sivarasan and his accomplices took to their heels, frequently changing their hideouts.

The SIT's relentless pressure finally led Sivarasan to shoot himself dead while Subha and five others consumed cyanide at their hideout at Konanakunte in Bangalore on May 21, 1992, exactly a year after the assassination. Dhanu had died during the assassination attempt.

The entire prosecution team of Mr. P. Rajamanickam, Mr. A.T. Dante, Mr. P.D. Dinakaran, Mr. K. Panchapakesan and Mr. V. Gopinath, besides Mr. Daniel, was present in the court.

The defence lawyers, Mr. Doraisamy, Mr. Elango, Mr. Ramadoss, Mr. Ziaudin and Mr. P.I. Thirumurthy, were also present.

The SIT chief, Mr. D.R. Karthikeyan, and others were in attendance.

Mr. Siddick adjourned the case to May 26 for further hearing.

Violence Said Increasingly Appealing to Muslims
93AS0900D Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
23 May 93 p 10

[Article by M. J. Akbar: "Gravediggers of a Community"]

[Text]

Advocates of Violence are Filling the Leadership Void Among Muslims.

The time has come to place a complete ban on elections in summer. The season is too hot for Indian democracy. One does not use the word "hot" literally, as in temperature. Indian voters can bear the heat. They live in this weather and the swirl of burning dust, the buzz of sun crazed flies, the soft whistle of furnace air is all part of normal life. The people live with the elements.

If it is not too hot, then rainwater is curdling the mud at their feet or bitter cold eats through the thin fabric wrapped tightly around the body in a desperate effort to

improve the margin of warmth. The people would vote in any climate. If the people have any problem with voting it is not the weather, it is apathy. Or a simple absence of faith.

But India's redoubtable chief election commissioner keeps cancelling elections because he feels the people are being defrauded. He never displays any sympathy for the plight of another set of players in the electoral game: New Delhi's politicians.

My appeal derives out of heartfelt sympathy for these ministers. They have no idea what the weather outside is like, because it is impossible to know the temperature of India when you are permanently encased in the air-conditioned sprawl of huge bungalows, with cool, soft carpeted offices and rolling, manicured lawns.

Can you imagine what a trauma it must be for them to leave this beautiful world and actually go out into the heat and dust, noise and squalor to ask for votes so that they can retain their cocoons? A Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Ministers must be launched and pressure put on Mr T. N. Seshan to display more sympathy towards them. Once you have made someone a minister, it is unfair to expect that person to also keep in touch with reality.

This trauma was brought home to me by the pathetic sight of the honourable Union minister for railways, Mr Jaffer Sharief, begging for Muslim votes in Yelehenka in Karnataka. Mr Sharief emerged from this experience a clearly shaken man. He suddenly discovered how much Indian Muslims had begun to hate the Muslim ministers of the Congress. Judging by his remarks after the experience, Mr Sharief has only now found out that the people feel the Congress has not put up a serious challenge to the forces of communalism.

How much nicer it must have been for Mr Sharief during all these months when he had no clue about all this, when he was blissfully ignorant. Now that he knows, imagine the great upheaval that must be taking place in his heart and mind. Imagine the turmoil, the anguish in his breast. He would never have known any of this if he had not been forced to leave Yelehenka. So who's fault is it? It is all Mr Seshan's fault for inflicting elections on India's poor, innocent ministers, for forcing them to leave their dreamland.

However Mr Sharief must share at least some of the blame for this trauma. He need not have gone on the campaign trail at all. He could have continued to live in the comfort of ministerial routine. After all, this is what the ranking Muslim cabinet minister in the government, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, did.

Logic suggests that as the highest ranking Muslim politician in the Congress he should have been out there, campaigning in the byelections. In Patna, for instance, with its large percentage of Muslim voters. But Mr Azad

had no time for something as silly as summer byelections. Perhaps he had been forewarned about the reception he would get in Muslim mohallas. He decided to spend his time making high profile mistakes in Indian Airlines rather than checking out what was happening on the ground.

At least the Congress Muslim ministers no longer have any illusions about how much they are hated by the Muslim masses. The reason is hardly a secret. Their silence during these nerve shattering months since December 6 is still echoing in the hearts of the people, provoking disgust, anger and hostility.

The problem in fact is much larger, in particular among Muslim youth. There is total disillusionment with the system, a sense of betrayal all around.

It is a dangerous mood, a mindset on the edge of desperation. Once again a host of gravediggers are moving around among Muslim youth with only one aim in their bag: to tip the young over the edge of desperation in to an abyss of violence.

Over and over again the same story has been repeated. The Congress has alienated itself from the Muslims through one blunder or the other. Its Muslim ministers cannot get entry into a Muslim home even for a social occasion. It then begins desperately trying to appease the gravediggers at election time.

Or there are Opposition leaders like the infamous Mr V. P. Singh, willing to compromise with anyone or anything to win an election. They make pacts with extremist fanatics who even the Congress is embarrassed to touch. Between them they spell national disaster. Those who think such games will not be repeated after the lessons of the past are living in an opiate haze.

The difference this time is that they will be flirting not merely with extremism but with violence. Words like blame do not come easily to my pen these days. Who is going to explain the virtues of non-violence to a Muslim youth who has seen his parents killed, his sister brutalised? In all honesty, I have only one answer to violence: that it is not a solution. It is a lonely viewpoint. All across the country the gravediggers—some of them members of Parliament no less—are spreading the message in shaded drawing rooms that violence is the only answer.

The reason for their mischief is perfectly comprehensible. Those who made a handsome living out of the politics of Babri Masjid, those of the protection committees, lost all their credibility in December. Now they are desperately trying to repair their links with the Muslims. They are convinced a provocative call to violence is the easiest route back.

The question arises as to whether the call to violence is the latest key to the vote banks. I do not know. I hope this is not the case. Violence can only invite even greater

ruin on a community already punished brutally by history, impoverished by economics and humiliated by politics.

The real problem with India's Muslims is not the depression of the masses but the exploitation of their leaders. The two, of course, are not unconnected. This has been a century of betrayal for them. The worst calamity for them being that bloody vivisection called partition. It has been a century of betrayal and tragedy, of death instead of life, of exploitation instead of leadership. Heaven forbid a tragedy should explode into an unparalleled catastrophe.

Perhaps there is a solution. Stop making Muslims leaders of the community. They will in any case be far better served by a Hindu with an honest conscience than a Muslim whose tongue has either been cut or whose voice has become coated with exploitative hysteria. There has to be a position between the extremes of corrosive impotence and self-destructive mania. Let Muslims find leaders who can take them there. Such leaders, however, are unlikely to be Muslims.

Byelections Seen Major Setback for Congress (I)

Dissidents Hopes Raised

93AS0903A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
25 May 93 p 6

[Article: "Defeats Embolden Congress Rebels"]

[Text] Ahmedabad, May 24: Troubled times have begun for the Gujarat chief minister, Mr Chimanbhai Patel, following the Congress(I)'s humiliating defeat in the recently concluded byelections to the six Assembly seats.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] wrested three seats from the Congress(I) and retained another in the byelection which was projected as a referendum on Mr Patel's government by the Opposition and Congress(I) dissidents.

The party's poor performance at the hustings has emboldened its dissidents to renew their demand for Mr Patel's ouster. The resignation of the state's former finance minister, Mr Dinesh Shah, till recently a Chimanbhai loyalist, from the editorship of the party organ, Congressjan, has further boosted their morale.

In his resignation letter to the state Congress(I) president, Mr Prabodh Raval, Mr Shah accused party leaders of encouraging violence and exploiting religious sentiments to win the elections. The charges are an obvious pointer to the hooliganism of Youth Congress(I) workers on the day of the elections and to a Jain sadhu's appeal to voters of the Ellis bridge constituency to elect the Congress(I)-backed Jain candidate there.

The Jain candidate, Mr Lalbhai Shah, a businessman hand-picked by the chief minister, lost the BJP nominee, Mr Harin Pandya, a engineer, by a huge margin of over

40,000 votes. The BJP gain is significant as in the last elections, the seat was won by the Janata Dal's Jain social worker, Mr Babubhai Vasanwala, by a margin of over 50,000 votes.

Mr Dinesh Shah's diatribe against the Congress(I)'s "manipulative" politics reflects the gross resentment brewing among a section of Congress(I) workers over Mr Patel's style of functioning. In fact, Mr Shah has demanded a meeting of the party's state executive to enable its members to express their views on running it.

The former minister's outburst may just be the beginning of a storm as front-ranking leaders of the dissident camp like the former external affairs minister, Mr Madhavsingh Solanki, former chief ministers, Mr Amarsingh Chaudhury and Mr Hitendra Desai, are yet to make their comments on the poll results.

The dissidents, who held several meetings to forge an anti-Chimanbhai alliance before the byelections, suspended their campaign when the poll schedule was announced, lest loyalists projected their move as anti-party.

With the Congress(I)'s reversals in the byelections and Mr Shah blaming the chief minister, the Solanki camp is now on a firmer ground to carry on the "Chiman hatao" campaign. It is expected to bring into its fold all those Congressmen who have been sidelined after the merger of the regional party, Janata Dal (G) with the Congress(I).

The way Mr Patel cornered plum portfolios in the state cabinet for erstwhile Janata Dal (G) colleague and his utter disregard for the party's organisational wing while taking major decisions, has turned many congress(I) leaders, including the state party chief, Mr Prabodh Raval, against him.

However, the chief minister is in a comfortable position in the Assembly commanding as he does the support of more than 60 legislators, all former Janata Dal (G) men, in the 99-member Congress legislature party. It is because of this numerical strength that Mr Patel has been able to have his say in running the government and the party.

But if Mr Shah's stance is any indication, then it seems that even members of the erstwhile Janata Dal (G) are having second thoughts about continuing their unflinching support to Mr Patel.

Jolt in Andhra Pradesh

93AS0903B Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
25 May 93 p 6

[Article: "Desam Win in Bypoll a Jolt for Congress"]

[Text] Hyderabad, May 24: The impressive Telugu Desam victory in both the Kovvur and Kaikalur Assembly seats in the recent byelections has given a jolt to the slumbering ruling Congress(I) in Andhra Pradesh.

The party's defeat in these prestigious coastal Andhra seats has evaporated the party's claim to public support as was proved in the bypoll of Panyam and Rayachoti last month.

The vast majority recorded by the Desam in Kovvur—23,000 votes—was also a direct hint to Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao that he had blundered in nominating his friend, Mr P. Ramachandra Reddy, as the party candidate against the advice of the chief minister, Mr Kotla Vijaybhaskar Reddy.

On the other hand, the Congress(I) defeat in Kaikalur was a popular vote against the chief minister for having forced the sitting Congress(I) MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] and excise minister to resign for his involvement in the distilleries scandal. Mr Reddy had recommended the Governor and Speaker to accept the minister's resignation from the Cabinet and the Assembly.

The Desam supremo, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, termed the victories as historic and vowed to "wipe out the Congress(I) from the state." Bravado apart, it seems Mr Rama Rao's act of breaking his party's alliance with the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] and selecting the son of a Desam defector had also given the party a shot in the arm.

Mr Rama Rao chose Mr Prasanna Kumar Reddy, son of former Desam minister, Mr N. Srinivasu! Reddy, who had defected to the Congress(I) in 1989, for the Kovvur seat.

The defeat of the Congress(I) candidate at Kaikalur speaks volumes about the fall in the party's popularity in the state. The strong Kapu community, which had earlier rejected the Desam and elected the Congress(I) candidate, Mr K. Bapiraju, in the last three elections—1983, 1985 and 1989—, turned down Mr Bapiraju this time, who was again chosen as the party's candidate.

The Kapu community verdict was mainly influenced by the shabby treatment meted out to the excise minister as well as the former Union minister and Kapu leader, Mr P. Shiv Shankar. The disciplinary action committee of the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee] had named Mr Shiv Shankar for his alleged misdemeanour at the Surajkund session. Although the committee had let him off the hook, five other party members, who were also named, were suspended from active membership.

The trend in Kaikalur may spell doom for the Congress(I) in the Kapu-dominated districts of East and West Godvadi in coastal Andhra Pradesh, besides those of Krishna and Guntur.

The party's defeat in both the Assembly segments is also a vote against Mr Reddy's decision to ban arrack in the state from October. The prohibition had been lifted from coastal Andhra Pradesh only in 1970 but being part of the Madras presidency, the ban had continued in these five coastal districts and in the lone Chittoor district of

Rayalseema till 1979. The ban was thus resented by the rural population comprising mainly agricultural labourers.

The byelections reaffirms that the Desam is still the leader in rural Andhra segments. Although the CPI(M) bagged 17,000 votes which came mostly from the urban town of Kovvur, the Desam dominated the rural segment of the Assembly seat.

In this scenario, it is unlikely that the Congress(I) will go ahead with the local body elections which were ordered by the High Court and might even try to avoid it. The party's loss of both Assembly seats is also a loss of face for the Prime Minister.

Struggling in South

93AS0903C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
25 May 93 p 1

[Article: "Reverses in South Puts Rao in a Tight Spot"]

[Text] New Delhi, May 24: The results of the recent byelections have produced subterranean tremors in the Congress(I), already under strain over the differences which crept into its ranks over the impeachment of the Supreme Court judge, Mr. V. Ramaswamy.

This development is bound to upset Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao's plans of diverting the attention of his partymen to issues which have a long-term potential but little bearing on the present-day reality. It may force him to take a harder look at the tardy pace of political mobilisation which he has set for the party.

To a section of the Congress(I), panchayat raj suddenly seems a far-off proposition as a medium to activate the party machinery. Congressmen feel that the danger signals from Andhra Pradesh, where it lost the Assembly seats to the Telugu Desam Party, and Gujarat, where the BJP made significant inroads, are too palpable for comfort.

Failure to do so on the part of the leadership now could lead to a revival of dissidence in these two states. As it is, the groups in Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat, led by Mr N. Janardhan Reddy and Mr Madhavsingh Solanki, have yet to reconcile themselves to the importance attached by the high command to the present chief ministers of these states.

Besides, sources say, the party's defeat in Andhra Pradesh and its narrow victory in Yelahanka, Karnataka, are bad news for the Prime Minister personally since he draws his support base from the southern states.

However, one silver lining of the Yelahanka verdict for the ruling party is that minorities voted en bloc for the Congress(I). Party managers feel that this could be a trend-setter in states where there is no secular alternative to the Congress(I).

The dissident trio comprising Mr K. N. Singh, Mr Natwar Singh and Mrs Shiela Dixit today fired the first salvo at the leadership, demanding a "serious and honest analysis" of the reasons behind the unfavourable verdict.

In a statement, the dissidents said, "To say that our victory in Jalandhar reflects the national mood and our defeats in Patna and other places do not, is to use Pandit Nehru's memorable phrase a fantastic nonsense."

The dissidents' chargesheet found a mild echo the Union human resources minister, Mr Arjun Singh's statement who also felt that it was essential to make a "close analysis" of election results before coming to any conclusion.

Significantly, both Mr Singh and the dissidents welcomed the outcome of the Jalandhar byelection, saying it reaffirmed the common perception that the people of Punjab wanted peace. The dissidents even congratulated the chief minister, Mr Beant Singh.

The byelections have seen two bete noirs of the ruling party, Mr Om Prakash Chautala, and Mr N. T. Rama Rao, stage a comeback. While Mr Chautala won the Narwana seat in Haryana hands down, Mr Rama Rao campaigned tirelessly to win the two Assembly seats in his state, thus proving that he could not be written off easily.

Congressmen from Andhra Pradesh now say danger signals in their state were evident during the last byelections in April, when the chief minister, Mr K. Vijaybhaskar Reddy, had to strain every sinew to win the Panyam seat.

The blue mood was symbolised by a leading dissident MP, "It was Mr Bhaskar Reddy who presided over the liquidation of the Congress in the early Eighties when the Telugu Desam first stormed to power. We hope history will not repeat itself."

What has also worried the high command is the extent of communal polarisation in Gujarat, where the BJP wrested Elis Bridge seat with a margin of 53,000 votes, only two years ago, the Congress(I) had won this seat by a margin of 40,000 votes.

The party managers are coming to the conclusion that more manipulative politics of the chief minister, Mr Chimanbhai Patel, will not see it through in the last elections.

Trend is Downward

93AS0903D NEW DELHI PATRIOT in English
25 May 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Blurred, But a Trend"]

[Text] The reverses—and these are reverses, no matter how one looks at them—the Congress suffered in the recent byelections in eight States must have set off the alarm bells ringing. Even if the party thinks that the

results do not reflect a national trend, there are sufficient reasons for the party to worry about the outcome. A few facts emerge from the results. First, the Congress's performance has been quite bad even in the States governed by the party. In the Indian conditions, the parties governing the States do better at winning byelections. The pattern of voting clearly indicates that its stock has been going down in the eyes of the very people who had voted for it earlier. Second, the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), which has by and large emerged as its principal challenger, has gained, significantly at the cost of the Congress in some areas. More important is the fact that the BJP is creating its bastion in areas, where it was almost unknown in not too distant a past. Third, and the most uncomfortable, is the fact that the Congress has suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh, the Prime Minister's home State, where the candidates were reportedly chosen by Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao himself. Like Karnataka, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Haryana, Andhra Pradesh also has a Congress government. In the two Assembly byelections from Kovur and Kaikalur, the ruling party was trounced by the TDP (Telugu Desam Party)—the margins were wide—giving the latter another shot in the arm. Mr N. T. Ramarao continues to be a force to reckon with. In the Congress-ruled Gujarat, the BJP and its allies were entrenched. It has long been known that the BJP is expanding in Gujarat. Some Gujarat Congress leaders have held that Gujarat would pass under BJP control unless the present Chief Minister withdraws from the party leadership. It is difficult to say whether their assessment is a reasonably objective one or merely projects their factional animus against Mr Chimanbhai Patel. The BJP has wrested four of the seven Assembly seats from the Congress with big margins. The Congress's win over the BJP by a mere 512 in the Yelahanka Assembly constituency in Karnataka speaks more of the BJP's increasing strength in the South than of the ruling party's success. The Congress reverses in Mr Laloo Yadav's Bihar, where repolling after repolling is a rule rather than an exception, were on the expected lines. One can not expect anything better in a State where mafia, lathis, guns and naked casteism rule the roost. While the victory of SJP's [Samajwadi Janata Party] O. P. Chautala, Haryana's former Chief Minister, in the Assembly byelection has been the result of infighting, perhaps even sabotage, in the Congress, the Congress's spectacular success in the Jalandhar Lok Sabha constituency in Punjab shows that people there see the Congress as the only party capable of holding the terrorists at bay. The defeat of the Akali Dal (Badal) candidate by over one lakh votes is a measure of Mr Beant Singh's rising authority in the State. It is also a rejection of the politics of separatism and terror.

Continued Corruption, Decline of Congress (I) Seen

Rao 'Part of the Rot'

93AS0902A Bombay THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY
OF INDIA in English 28 May 93 pp 11-12

[Article by George Fernandes: "Damnable"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The only good thing emerging out of the belated and graceless resignation of Justice Ramaswami is that two eminent judges—Justice P. B. Sawant of the Supreme Court and Justice P. D. Desai, Chief Justice of the Bombay high court will not need to resign from their positions. (Justice Desai has, of course, retired some months ago). These two judges, along with another illustrious jurist and retired judge of the Supreme Court, Justice O. Chinnappa Reddy, had, after examining all aspects of the charges against Justice Ramaswami, declared that, 'Justice Ramaswami's conduct, that is, his several acts of commission and omission, reflected in our findings on charges No 1, 2 and 3 severally, discloses willful and gross misuse of office, purposeful and persistent negligence in the discharge of duties, intentional and habitual extravagance at the cost of the public exchequer, moral turpitude by using public funds for private purposes in diverse ways and reckless disregard of statutory rules and brings disrepute to the high judicial office and dishonour to the institution of judiciary and undermines the faith and confidence which the public reposes in the administration of justice. The acts are of such a nature that his continuance in office will be prejudicial to the administration of justice and to the public interest. The acts therefore constitute misbehaviour within the meaning of Article 124(4) of the Constitution of India.'

"Proved misbehaviour" within the meaning of Article 124(4) of the Constitution must end in impeachment of the delinquent, a strong word, but which deserves to be used in the instant case.

When the Lok Sabha was manoeuvred into a situation by the Congress party led by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao into preventing the impeachment, it did two things. First, it told the three-member inquiry committee set up under the Judges (Inquiry) Act that it rejected the verdict of guilty passed by the committee on the errant judge. Second, it told Justice Ramaswami and the likes of him that they could discard with impunity every canon of the moral and ethical code of conduct that was enjoined of them when they took the oath of office.

With these two clear messages, it would have been untenable for Justice Sawant and Justice Desai to continue to remain on the bench. Their self-respect would have been hurt to the point where resigning would be the only option open to them.

The resignation of Ramaswami has, of course, vindicated the judges who conducted the inquiry.

But what about the damage done to the credibility of the judicial institutions? Forget the homily about Caesar's wife and all that. Are we now to accept that the erosion of all the standards of probity and integrity in public life has also overwhelmed our judicial institutions? In other words, like buying jobs and promotions and licences, would one also be able to buy justice? While a police investigation would be in order to bring forward criminal charges against Ramaswami, what about those who,

knowing the criminal nature of the action of the man, used all the guile and power to protect him? What about their malfeasance which will continue to subvert our judicial institutions? These questions will have to be answered by the judiciary and by Parliament in the coming days.

The prime minister and his partymen were aware of the implications of their decision to put their conscience into collective neutrality on an issue of such moral dimensions. But they must have concluded that on balance of consideration, it would be prudent to uphold what they proudly profess as "Congress culture." During a debate on the securities scam in the Lok Sabha, a Congress member had taken the pains to explain that the difference between the Congress and some persons in the Opposition was that the Congress stood by its friends. In the context in which he said it, he meant, including those accused of corruption.

Of course, there were Congress members of the Lok Sabha who were all set to exercise their vote in favour of the motion. Some of them were young persons who want their party to make a break with that past where their big leaders of yesterday and of today have had close links with the underworld including drug peddlers, arms smugglers, extortionists and killers. They are aware that if this nexus between politicians, bureaucrats, industrialists and the underworld which has, for all practical purposes, taken over the Indian State, is not broken soon, it will bring about the disintegration of the nation. I am aware that if the freedom of vote had been given, at least 70 Congress members would have voted for the impeachment.

Granted that Congresspersons must uphold "Congress culture," and P. V. Narasimha Rao, after all, is a vintage Congressman who has been a part of the rot that the Congress is, one had, maybe without any justifiable reason, expected him to act to uphold the dignity of Parliament and the integrity of the judicial institutions. Again, granted that he is a weak prime minister who has to pander to various big and small group interests in his party, and is also subjected to various kinds of blackmail by his own partymen, but here was an opportunity for him to step off the beaten path of corruption and malfeasance and take, what could have become, one big and non-retractable step towards cleansing the vast Augean stable that the country has become. But he let the country and himself down. By succumbing to the blackmail by those sections of Congresspersons who have made a virtue of corruption, and treated the country as a big grazing ground to ingratiate themselves and their families, he became the instrument to formally enshrining corruption in all its manifestations as the most important items in the Congress party's programme.

An unfortunate development in the impeachment saga was the North-South divide, or more precisely, the expression of Tamil patriotism that came to be displayed both in Parliament and outside. Chauvinistic tendencies

are, of course, not new in our political and public life. Caste-based vote banks are but a manifestation of such tendencies, and the pull of caste identities has always been stronger than the pull of ideologies, at least after attaining freedom. But when crime and punishment get to be viewed from caste or communal or linguistic or other similar sectarian considerations, then we shall have planted the seeds for the destruction of a civilised society in which rights and wrongs must be judged by a single common yardstick.

Unfortunately again, the counsel for Justice Ramaswami, in the course of his long peroration before the Lok Sabha, complained repeatedly on behalf of his client, that he was being treated on par with a junior division clerk when it came to assessing the gravity of his offence and measuring the punishment he should take. Here caste was getting subordinated to class. Implied in this argument was the belief that the judges of the Supreme Court should have the licence to commit certain indiscretions and even criminal offences which the lower division clerk should not be allowed to commit and should be punished if he did.

For instance, Justice Ramaswami used his residential telephone to make calls beyond any reasonable limit. The explanation he gave for running up bills amounting to Rs 9.10 lakh over a period of one year and 10 months when he served as Chief Justice of the Punjab and Haryana High Court was, that he was doing most of his administrative work, from his residential office because of the terrorist menace in the state. (The telephone bills of the predecessor in the same job for the same period for doing the same work amounted to Rs 38,000). Discounting the days he was away on home leave and holidays, his telephone bills worked out to over Rs 2,000 per working day.

The real explanation for this colossal bill has to be found in a statement which his counsel repeatedly made before the Lok Sabha. That the judge's family lives in America. The unsaid point was that the public money could be used by the judge to keep in daily touch with his family in America. Of course, a lower division clerk should not do that.

Before the Lok Sabha began to hear the counsel for Justice Ramaswami, many spoke about the solemnity of the occasion and how the House was now going to perform as a Dispenser of Justice. As if on other days, the sittings of the House do not have any solemnity, and its work is not related to doing justice by the people of the country whose representatives sit in it. From the village munsif's court to the Supreme Court of the country, there is daily dispensation of justice, and, as is wont, a lot of miscarriage of justice. Assuming that Parliament was fulfilling a quasi-judicial role for a few hours, the solemnity could not have been any more than that of the munsif's court which performs not a quasi but a full-fledged judicial function.

The wooliness about the solemnity bit should become obvious when one notes that the impeachment process begins when at least 100 members of the House give a petition specifying the charges with supporting evidence. The three-man Investigating Committee which, as per the Judges (Inquiry) Act, must consist of a sitting judge of the Supreme Court, a sitting Chief Justice of a high court and a jurist of eminence, has to give its findings after a thorough investigation, including recording of evidence, which, in effect, is a quasi-judicial procedure. If the findings of the committee are that the charges are not proved, the matter does not come before Parliament, unless as a mention by the Speaker. If the Inquiry Committee holds that the charges are proved, then, while the House may debate the findings, it will be preposterous to suggest that it can overrule them.

The absurdity of the so-called solemn quasi-judicial role of the House can, perhaps, be better understood by the statements that have emanated from some ministers of government including at least one chief minister, several members of Parliament and the press persons who covered the debate. That the arguments of the counsel for the accused so convinced them of the innocence of the man, that they had, in their minds, exonerated him, and decided to vote against the motion. Later, when they again heard the case for the prosecution, they were either confused or they changed their minds.

Without meaning to offend any of my colleagues in the House, one can safely say that such fickle-mindedness cannot possibly go well with the performance of quasi-judicial functions. Particularly when the findings of the three-man committee with all supporting evidence were already in the hands of the members for several days or available for reference with the Speaker. The sad conclusion one can draw is that the minds were swayed because of political exigencies and not because of any commitment to search the truth and perform a solemn, quasi-judicial act. The oral whip to abstain from voting on the impeachment motion issued by the prime minister was a political act and there was nothing solemn or quasi-judicial about it.

The sordid details of the lobbying, touting, and blackmailing that went on outside the precincts of the Lok Sabha chamber on the two days of the impeachment debate will be known in the course of time. Facts will be laced with gossip and gossip will sideline facts about who threatened whom with what, who bought whom for how much, and who brokered between whom and for what consideration. But one fact will stand out of it all. The beating taken by the institution of Parliament. If the ultimate court of appeal of the people of India can be manipulated with such cynicism and perversity as was on display in the week that was, then there is grave danger lurking round the corner. In 1975, it was this very institution that was used by Mrs Gandhi to subvert Indian democracy. The impeachment drama has shown that it can still be manipulated with much greater impunity to serve political or personal interests.

Constitution Damaged

93AS0902B Bombay *THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA* in English 28 May 93 pp 12-13

[Somnath Chatterjee Interviewed by Shastri Ramachandran: "Not One Member of Parliament Has Found Him Innocent"]

[Text] Somnath Chatterjee, leader of the CPI-I [Communist Party of India] in Parliament, is one of India's most respected parliamentarians. He is known for his well-researched and reasoned presentations. It is the force of his arguments, punctuated with wit, that often carry the day, when he takes the floor in the Lok Sabha. He does not depend on emotive appeals to make his point but moves with the pugnacity of a trained barrister who knows that arguments well marshalled will eventually convince better than any histrionics.

If an impeachment motion against a Supreme Court judge was without precedent in independent India, Somnath Chatterjee's contribution in Parliament on the historic occasion is equally unprecedented. Here was a man who spoke for all those who passionately believed in the dignity and integrity of both Parliament and the judiciary. His speech is a testament to a faith sacred to millions, that the independence of the judiciary deserves to be protected and maintained. While his articulation of faith in the judiciary and his earnestness to salvage a tainted judiciary from a guilty judge has been a success, where he was defeated was in the game of numbers in the Lok Sabha. That, however, only lends greater shine to his performance for it shows the enormity of the odds against which he bravely stood his ground.

In the interview that follows, Chatterjee reveals his anguish at the steep fall in the standards of Parliament, forced by an unrepentant judge and the ruling Congress party. A line to remember from his speech on the two days in Parliament, is what he told Mani Shankar Aiyar: "I do not envy your teachers." This is perhaps meant for all those who did not learn their lessons on the role they had to play when the motion came up in Parliament. Excerpts from the interview.

How do you feel about the outcome of the motion for impeachment of Justice V. Ramaswami?

It has resulted in seriously affecting the image of the Supreme Court and the judiciary as a whole. Because here is a judge whose activities all members of parliament view as highly irregular and all members of parliament are convinced about his guilt. Not one member of Parliament has found him innocent. He still remains a judge because the ruling Congress party has doubts about the appropriateness of the punishment. The Congress party has no doubts about his guilt, their doubts are about the nature of the punishment to be imposed. None of the over 400 members present in the Lok Sabha has held him to be innocent of the charges. What more can I say: that litigants are required to appear before a judge, who has himself been found guilty of indulging in

financial irregularity, deliberate violation of laws and whose conduct in avoiding a lawful inquiry has not been condoned.

Do you think the matter can be pursued further for punishment of the offender?

I do not know what more can be done. The motion for impeachment being carried was the only hope. Our constitutional laws do not make any other provision for punishment of a judge guilty of misbehaviour. I have been trying to impress that there is no question of degree of punishment. This is the only punishment. If he is guilty of misbehaviour, he has to go. The look for degree of misbehaviour is to condone the misbehaviour. Here is an office where we cannot afford even doubts about the honesty and integrity of the incumbent.

What does this experience portend for the judiciary and Parliament?

I think people understand that the opposition members in Parliament tried to do their duty. This appreciation of the Opposition is because of the conduct of the Congress party on the issue. I had specifically appealed to members of Parliament not to make it a party issue. It is much too important an issue to be decided on party or parochial considerations or as to who is the appointing authority. It is a sad day if the Parliament of India dismisses an issue like this on the basis of language, caste, state or community. The issue very seriously affects the credibility of the judiciary. I confess, with a heavy heart, that nowadays one hears complaints of lack of integrity even amongst high court judges, although they are in a minority. But one or two or three judges in the high court with a bad reputation can spoil the image of the entire institution. Now these people will be encouraged. They will be encouraged to attack more sharply.

This provision for impeachment was the only way, out against corrupt judges. It is very strict, exacting and intended to maintain the standards of the judiciary. No judge can be removed for the mere asking. The procedure is very strict and calls for a thorough inquiry by sitting judges. After all the inquiries, at all the prescribed stages, the judge never convinced anyone about his innocence. But the effort was defeated in the game of numbers.

The impeachment provision was intended to be for protection, for maintenance of the independence of the judiciary, so that it can function without fear or favour. But now, the provision is being used to bail out corrupt people on the bench. The provision was not intended to be a shield for corrupt people but a shield against corrupt people.

I feel that the judge had taken up a totally unreasonable, unjust and unjudge-like attitude because he knew, that in the ultimate analysis, the Congress party will come to his rescue. That is why in spite of the disclosure of sordid misdeeds he had taken up a couldn't-care-less attitude.

How has this episode affected Parliament?

It has damaged the credibility of Parliament. The result is that Parliament could not protect the judiciary, because a majority sided with a guilty judge against the interests of the judiciary. Now people have to be convinced to demand an easier, more effective method. A way has to be found so that nobody who is guilty of corruption goes scot free.

I would say the whole procedure has been perverted. It has affected the prestige of the judiciary, the Congress behaviour has showed how ineffective the parliamentary system of government is, and last but not the least, it is nothing but an insult to the founding fathers of the constitution. The founding fathers never said that a judge found guilty should be exonerated, where Parliament itself has not come to a finding of innocence. The Congress has forced a situation where the judge goes scot free in spite of proven misbehaviour.

This is a grievous wrong to the constitution and the judiciary of being foisted with a person who has taken up a nonchalant attitude and trusted that the Congress will shield corrupt people.

Why do you think the Congress supported Ramaswami?

What can I say about their objectionable, motivated and ignominious game? All I can say is that he was not picked because he was a Congress government-appointed judge. Of the many judges why were proceedings initiated only against him? Because he was found guilty. It was proved at every stage that he had indulged in behaviour unbecoming of a judge. We have not been against all the judges. It has been immaterial which party in government appointed judges. Regardless of the party, the judges were never considered to be party appointees. We never said they are not our judges. So it is not against a Congress-supported judge. It is against a judge who has been found guilty. The judge has deprecated those who raised the issue. This is an attack on members of Parliament. He has also raised motivated objections. No impeachment motion has been forced in the last 42 years. Why? Because it is not possible nor easily proved, when the issue relates to the corruption of officials and judges. The investigation was done and it was very thorough. Nobody says that the committee of judges has not applied its mind, except the culprit and the lawyer who came to help the culprit. Nobody has questioned the correctness of the findings.

Even the Congress spokesman V. N. Gadgil admitted that Ramaswami is guilty. The dispute was not on this count but on the untenable argument that the punishment was too severe. Neither the constitution nor the Congress has given what other punishment could be thought of for a corrupt judge. So we have to go by the constitution. This part of Congress propaganda is motivated, objectionable and highly disturbing.

I also find the argument that he is a Tamil very disturbing: that the motion was supposed to be anti-Tamil.

It is certainly not against him because of his language or state. At no stage was the inquiry conducted on this basis. Yet this is the argument that is being heard. I find it utterly perverted and motivated. I can sympathise with these people, those opposed to the impeachment motion, if they had good reason and were not motivated by mean, narrow, party and parochial loyalties. But there is not one good reason that has been advanced by those opposed to the impeachment motion.

There is another disturbing question that arises out of the issue: what is the objective, motivation of the Congress party in wilfully using Parliament for perpetrating a constitutional wrong, as they have done? What if the motion had been carried for the impeachment of the corrupt judge? Even then, the Supreme Court could have given him relief. What was the constitutional wrong that Parliament was doing? But this judge does not trust anybody, he does not believe in any institutions, in any of the due processes—he does not trust the witness, he has no faith in the supreme court, he has no faith in the institution of the speaker, in the MPs, his fellow judges, the committee of judges or even the Supreme Court judgment. His wife's petition also expresses this lack of faith and trust: that they consider a Supreme Court judgment to be misconceived, inadequate and incorrect. This is very unfortunate.

Would you like to end this interview on a note of hope?

I hope when the Congress party faces the music, at the appropriate time, it will learn the lessons of its perfidy.

Culture of Corruption

93AS0902C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
25 May 93 p 8

[Article by Nikhil Chakravarty: "Thick Skins and Sticky Fingers"]

[Text] It is turning out to be a messy mid-summer for the Congress.

The party's abstention on Justice V. Ramaswami's impeachment vote has turned out to be a rather costly misadventure. Within the Congress circle itself the murmur of disapprobation of the party's stand has been loud and clear. It has in fact been louder than on any other issue the party has had to tackle in Parliament in recent years.

Things were made worse for the Congress by the minister for parliamentary affairs, Mr V. C. Shukla, who told the Press in almost so many words that Mr Ramaswami was guilty of only financial irregularities which did not amount to corruption. Mr Shukla thereby revealed to the public how degenerate has become the Congress' approach to the question of corruption in public life.

This attitude to corruption is not merely a matter of morality. What the largest party in the country is expected to keep in mind is the deleterious impact of

such an attitude on the common man. After all, the shock of it would be felt sometime or the other in an election.

It would of course be unfair to single out Mr Shukla for having pleaded mercy for a corrupt judge. In a sense corruption has become a way of life for Congress leaders. Only last year there was the stink of the scandal of Mr S. Bangarappa's drive to enrich himself beyond the confines of Karnataka politics. It reached the high heavens when the Congress president cum prime minister was left with no alibi but to ask him to step down.

Compared to Mr Bangarappa's record, Mr Janardhan Reddy's was milder. But he had to quit the post of Andhra Pradesh chief minister because he had earned the displeasure of some powerful factions within the Congress who exploited the charge of misbehaviour against him to force him to resign.

Then we have the case of Mr Santosh Mohan Dev, about whose worthy exploits as Central minister and Congress boss of Tripura volumes could perhaps have been written. Haryana chief ministers are of course known for their achievements on this score, whether they be Mr Devi Lal or Mr Bansi Lal. Why should Mr Bhajan Lal then lag behind?

However, among Congress chief ministers it is Mr Chimanbhai Patel who definitely deserves the cake. During the stormy days of 1974-75 the clarion call in Gujarat was to drive out "Chiman chor." This was the battlecry of the midterm assembly poll in the state in the summer of 1975 which brought down the Congress ministry. The poll results were out on June 12, the fateful day that saw the Allahabad high court judgment which nullified Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha.

Mr Patel was widely acknowledged in Gujarat as having piled up an enormous amount of money. He is still engaged in the business. Reports galore are in currency in Ahmedabad about this versatile chief minister's exploits in this sphere.

Mr Patel's insistence on the Narmada project even after the World Bank's withdrawal is understood to be due to the fact a large portion of prime land along the embankment of the projected Sardar Sarovar and the connecting canals has already been booked by the chief minister. He has distributed pieces of land to Gujarati non-resident Indians at a fancy price.

Were there no kickbacks in these deals? Ask any reasonably decent and informed citizen of the state and you will get the answer. In 20 years, Mr Patel has certainly grown in maturity. But there is little sign of his having discarded the dubious sobriquet he had earned in the Seventies.

In the bustling politics of Bombay quite a few party operators have come to be known as having links with the underworld. This is not confined to the Congress,

though the Congress as the leading party running the government has the largest quota of such luminaries.

Could Mr Sharad Pawar's reluctance to hand over the Bombay blasts' probe to the Central Bureau of Investigation emanate from the worry that it may expose the cosy rapport many Congressmen have struck over the years with the underworld flushing with money?

This is obviously not a complete list. Many a Congress boss in the states where it has ceased to rule is known for his weakness for black money. So are some of the leaders in the ruling establishment in states like Kerala and Assam. In Punjab, for instance, the abnormal conditions in which the armed militants have to be quelled opens up opportunities for quick money.

Nor is it that other parties in office or out of it are knights on pure white chargers. Nobody will dream of exempting the big shots of Tamil Nadu, whether in the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam or the All India Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, of lagging behind. M. G. Ramachandran, the late chief minister, with his bulging acquisitions earned a reputation which could not be effaced by the Bharat Ratna he received. As for other parties the spread of the virus is visible. Though it may not have reached the disturbing proportions of the Congress bigwigs.

This hurried list does not cover the present galaxy in the Union council of ministers, some of whom have already attracted the spotlight. Some others seem to be discreet in such affairs. What is worth noting is most Congress leaders have grown so insensitive to the charge of corruption and illicit hobnobbing with big money that some of them do not care about exposures either.

The Bofors kickback tradition has been upheld. The railway minister is unruffled with all the complaints about his murky deals. With the new economic policy inviting giant multinationals it is but natural to wait for the kickbacks.

No wonder, therefore, that by the next weekend the nation's ruling party would be holding an All India Congress Committee [AICC] meet with lavish five star extravaganza at Amethi to discuss, of all things, the prospects of *panchayati raj*. As for the millions being spent for this gala get together, where are they coming from? Either from the government's resources, since the host state, Uttar Pradesh, is under president's rule. Or from the ready at home black money dealers who are so considerate in their attachment to the Congress bosses.

The vulgar incongruity of this AICC show does not seem to touch the especially thick skins of the present generation of Congress bosses.

Reduced to Shambles

93AS0902D Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
31 May 93 p 8

[Article by Nikhil Chakravarty: "Look Out for the Squalls"; italicized words as published]

[Text] A storm reduced to a shambles the fancy township built by contractors for the proposed All India Congress Committee [AICC] session in Amethi. Was this an ominous divine visitation symbolising the present state of the Congress?

The incongruity of Rajivnagar, on which quite a few millions were squandered to provide five star amenities for the honourable members of the ruling party, could be gauged from the fact the extravaganza was being staged at a time of national economic hardship. The government has not been able to meet even the relief grant that the prime minister had promised to the famine hit villagers of Bihar's Palamau district.

Perhaps it would have been more economical if the AICC's organisers had hired a hotel for two days to deliberate on *panchayati raj*, as per the much vaunted agenda of the special session.

Now that the Amethi meeting has been put off thanks to the unexpected storm, one may view in peace the perspective that confronts the Congress as also the items that would have come up at the AICC.

Although the specific item on the agenda was *panchayati raj*, it was quite widely known that some of the issues which have faced the party since the Surajkund session three months ago could not possibly have been ignored at Amethi. Although the five dissidents who went on a hunger strike at Surajkund have been punished and suspended, the party is far from united.

Mr Arjun Singh, for instance, persists as an irrepressible opposition leader within the party. His latest demand is the party apologise to the Muslim community for the demolition of the Babri Masjid. This has put the Congress in an embarrassing position. The party spokesman and a few others have retorted by claiming the onus of apology falls not on the Congress but on the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP], whose *sangh parivar* was responsible for the demolition.

It is odd that Mr Singh should raise the demand for an apology nearly six months after the Ayodhya demolition. He did not raise it at the first AICC session held after December 6, 1992.

As things stand today, the Congress can hardly win over the Muslims by such a gimmick as an apology. At the same time, the very suggestion of such a gesture towards the minority community is bound to provide grist to the BJP mill. It is the BJP's contention that the Congress is partial towards Muslims.

If the issue had come up before the AICC, it would have posed a dilemma for Congress leaders. Had they accepted Mr Singh's suggestion it would have been seen as a move to censure Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao's government for its failure to prevent the demolition. If the demand had been rejected, it would have been misunderstood by Muslims.

Another issue which has caused a headache for the Congress leadership is the conduct of one of its members of Parliament, Mr Mani Shankar Aiyar. In his syndicated column, Mr Aiyar used an obscene epithet to describe Ms Sheila Dikshit.

Interestingly, Ms Dikshit served as a minister under Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister whose man Friday Mr Aiyar was. To call a fellow party member a prostitute—that is what the word used by Mr Aiyar, "moll," means—does not enhance the party's prestige.

The issue has been taken up by the Congress dissidents at the Press Council of India. There is talk of a defamatory suit. Meanwhile, the much publicised disciplinary action committee of the Congress is supposed to have taken note of the complaint. The chairman of the committee even told the Press about Mr Aiyar having been served a show cause notice.

A few days later, the convenor of the committee said no show cause notice had been served, Mr Aiyar had only been asked to provide his comments on the complaint. It was added the views expressed by Mr Aiyar in his column are specifically indicated as being his personal ones and not those of the Congress. By this logic, Congress members, in their personal capacity, are free to trade filthy abuses.

The mystery about the whittling down of the show cause notice to a mere request for comments has not been cleared. There is speculation as to whether there was any intervention by Mrs Sonia Gandhi on Mr Aiyar's behalf. There is nothing so far to substantiate this allegation, however.

The irony of it all is that Mr Aiyar was expected to play a visible role at Amethi because he had formulated the legislation on *panchayati raj* under Rajiv Gandhi. It was Mr Aiyar who had been campaigning for a special session *panchayati raj*.

Although the Amethi AICC has been smashed by divine intervention, the spectre which has been haunting Congressmen is the dwindling fate of the party in the four states where the BJP was in power. BJP governments were dismissed and presidential rule imposed in these states following the vandalism on the Babri Masjid.

In the five months since then, the Congress has made no headway either towards party unity or in countering the BJP on the political plane. This is precisely the reason why president's rule has been extended for another six months. However, there is no sign whatsoever that the Congress will recover ground in even this period.

If the Congress fares badly electorally in these states—Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh—will it not weaken the party's position in Parliament? The clamour is bound to be raised at that stage for the Congress to step down from the Centre. The ensuring general elections could see even greater disaster for the party.

In this context, the results of the recent byelections are ominous for the Congress. It has suffered badly in Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, the prime minister's native state. Nowhere is there a ray of hope for the party, though its spokesman harped only on the victory in the Jalandhar Lok Sabha constituency.

In Jalandhar, unusually favourable factors helped the Congress candidate. All opposition parties keen on a verdict against militancy wanted the defeat of the Akali candidate. His victory might have been construed as tacit approbation of the militant line.

Obviously the kudos for the solitary success for the Congress should go to Punjab's energetic chief minister. But Jalandhar is not India. From Patna to Ahmedabad it has been a dismal show for the party which rules at the Centre. How fragile is its political standing today.

The dust storm at Amethi, does it foreshadow anything for the leaders of the Congress?

Inability To Adjust

93AS0902E Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
28 May 93 p 6

[Article by S. Nihal Singh: "Decline But Not Quite Fall"]

[Text] The results of the byelections represent serious reverses for the Congress despite Punjab. The results point to two things. They present the picture of a party in decline and portend a hung Parliament as and when the general election is held.

The outcome merely confirms the trends that have become apparent since December 6, 1992. A weak and vacillating Congress leadership has been unable to galvanise the party or the country. Muslims have not forgiven the Congress for the demolition of the Babri mosque. They will vote Congress only as a last resort, to defeat the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP].

The Congress is increasingly finding many states beyond its grasp. Even in the states it rules the party is facing challenges from the BJP or a regional outfit. The Janata Dal in its idiosyncratic local variations has made Bihar and Orissa inhospitable to the Congress. The ruling party's old nemesis, the Telugu Desam, has shown it could be on a comeback trail in Andhra Pradesh.

Though the BJP did not win in any of the byelections in the South it came close to unseating the Congress in Karnataka. The narrow Congress win highlights how the BJP is chipping away at old Congress fortresses and increasing its own percentage of votes in every successive election.

The Gujarat byelection results are significant. They indicate the BJP could wrest the state from the Congress in the next election and extend its sway in the Hindi speaking belt to another linguistic region. The atmosphere in the state is sufficiently communalised. The

Congress's cynical deals to stay in power provide fertile ground for the BJP's propaganda.

The Punjab result, a big Congress win, does not reflect the national picture. Punjab has just survived the trauma of years of killings and depredations. Where the Hindus of the state are concerned, theirs was a thank you vote for the chief minister, Mr Beant Singh, and the police chief, Mr K.P.S. Gill.

The question is whether the Congress can do something to halt its slide and whether it possesses the resilience to revive its old élan. The prospects are unpromising. It is a tired party with a leader who does not measure up to the almost impossible demands of the situation in the country. The postwar world is turned upside down. Can India resist the pull of change?

Unlike the communist parties or the BJP and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the Congress has never been a cadre based party. Its strength lay in the ability to coopt various strands, evolve a national consensus and express it through a leader accepted by all.

Indira Gandhi's tussle with the party's old guard in 1969 destroyed this consensus. She sought to build a new one which proved more fragile. The one which proved more fragile. The 1969 crisis was an exercise in power play, not ideology. But Mrs Gandhi's experiment also underlined that nations must change to make progress.

The confrontation Mrs Gandhi's style of functioning brought about ended in the Emergency and the rise to power of the first non-Congress government at the Centre. The electorate, particularly in the North, was not merely expressing its anger at the excesses of the Emergency, but also giving a signal for change.

By its very nature the Janata Party government could not last. There were clashing ambitions and contradictions among the non-Jana Sangh components and distrust between them and the Jana Sangh members. Mrs Gandhi returned to power. Her son, Rajiv Gandhi, assumed charge after her assassination to win a stunning endorsement from the country.

Rajiv Gandhi's failure in governance led to the assumption of power by the Janata Dal, the nucleus of the National Front, with support from the communists and the BJP. But the centrist non-Congress alternative again proved a failure. There was nothing really that distinguished its members from the Congress. For the people it meant Congress policies combined with a greater measure of confusion and infighting.

These developments however paid the BJP rich dividends. It benefited from the anti-Congressism of other political parties and acquired the respectability it had long been seeking. The non-BJP opposition parties realised too late they had helped make a party which sought to destroy all they held dear.

The Congress, more than any other party, needs a charismatic leader to win votes and hold it together.

When its leader did not possess such qualities, the aura of belonging to the Nehru-Gandhi family served similar purposes. Perhaps the Congress reflected the national need for a father or mother figure.

Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, catapulted to power by a quirk of fate, has faced an arduous task in consolidating his leadership. The euphoria over a democratic party not ruled by the dynasty did not last long. The leader showed unsuspected shrewdness in juggling intraparty equations. The basis of political debate in the party and the country changed with the BJP's frontal assault on the Congress in the form of its complicity in the demolition of the Babri mosque.

The byelection results have deepened the gloom in the Congress. Never short of ammunition, Mr Arjun Singh has aimed another missile at Mr Rao by suggesting he apologise to the nation for the demolition of the Babri mosque. The Congress president is in no position to entertain such an idea. The object of the exercise can only be to put him on the defensive on the eve of the Amethi extravaganza, originally meant to rally the troops and neutralise the Rajiv Gandhi brigade.

It is not in the Congress tradition to depose a leader. Congressmen seeking to challenge Mr Rao forget the two splits in the party were engineered by Mrs Gandhi. When the Congress distanced itself from Mrs Gandhi after the Emergency it found it was left in a rump. The leader, then in disgrace hijacked the bulk of the party.

The Congress today is caught in a cleft stick. It realises something must be done to revive its fortunes to enable it to return to power in the next general election. There is much disquiet on the chances of its success under the present leadership. Those sticking by Mr Rao are a majority because such is the party's unwritten rule. But Mr Arjun Singh's attacks have acquired a greater resonance in the party after the byelection reverses.

Mr Singh's problem, like Mr Sharad Pawar's, is that he does not offer an attractive enough alternative to Mr Rao, even if the majority of Congressmen want to break with tradition. In the majority view, some of Mr Singh's solutions could prove suicidal in an atmosphere charged with communal overtones, particularly in view of the BJP's successes in the North.

Mr Rao must somehow demolish the edifice he has built on the events of December 6. It is, in his view, the BJP's perfidy that destroyed the mosque. The prime minister's own dithering is clothed in his publicised punctiliousness in observing the Constitution in letter and spirit. It has to be asked whether he can now say he committed a major political blunder in trusting the BJP to safeguard the mosque. The problem, is that this raises the question of whether it was not then incumbent upon him to resign. In any event it is uncertain what impact such an apology would have on Hindus in a communally charged North India.

The chances are Mr Rao will remain the leader of the Congress even as formulas are found to explain the party's discomfiture. For the moment Rajiv Gandhi is the only talisman and Mr Rao the only leader the Congress has.

Jharkhand State for Tribals Advocated

93AS0900E Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
31 May 93 p 10

[Article by Sunil Sengupta: "A Curse Called Civilization"]

[Text]

India can repay its historical debt to adivasis by granting Jharkhand statehood.

If the prime minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, and media reports are reliable then the Jharkhand Swashasita Kshetra—Jharkhand Self-governed Region—will come into existence in the near future. This will bring to a culmination a long and intense struggle on the part of the adivasis of south Bihar. Even though the last round of negotiations did not consider many genuine grievances of the Jharkhandis, their aspirations for self-rule and self-determination are likely to be fulfilled.

That Jharkhand imbroglio has not been settled even four decades after independence reflects the Centre's insincerity vis a vis tribal welfare. This is as true for tribals in Bihar as it is for those in other states of the country's eastern region.

Discrimination on the part of Central and state governments becomes apparent when tribal movements in the east are compared with those in the northeast. In the Northeast, where no industrial development has ever been recorded, tribals achieved statehood or autonomy fairly rapidly. The Bodo movement is a case in point.

Neither the Central government nor the state governments of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh have, however, given the Jharkhand demand a fair hearing. The sentiments of the autochthonous tribes of the region have been given the short shrift.

There are huge deposits of minerals, including uranium, in the tribal areas of the east. The reasons behind not granting the Jharkhandis statehood therefore are linked to the economic exploitation of the tribals. The authorities do not seem to realise the insecurity of the Jharkhandis is born of just this socio-economic exploitation. The utter backwardness of the area prepares the ground for discontent.

Tribes in the eastern region traditionally guarded their culture from contamination by the "civilised" by treating the hills and forests around them as a buffer zone. They sought the protection of nature when attacked by non-tribals, like the Aryans, or stronger tribal races. It was during the imperialism of the British that these tribals lost their liberty and seclusion.

British oppression only paved the way for upper caste Hindu ravishment. Ferocious and primitive capitalism soon became a part of the tribal region. Tribal society has been ravaged relentlessly since.

The tribal freedom struggle goes back longer in history than the Indian national movement. The Santhal rebellion of 1855 saw the tribals battling not only colonial power but also Hindu moneylenders and landlords. British soldiers were kept extremely busy in the Chhotanagpur Plateau.

Almost continuously from 1832, one tribe or the other has been on the warpath. With the advent of electoral politics the modalities of war changed somewhat. The Hos, Mundas and Chhurs took on better equipped and better prepared opponents and lost. These wars, or "revolts" are now part of tribal folklore, having created legendary heroes of their own. Thus Sidhu, Kanhu, Tilka Majhi and Birsa Munda are figures which inspire the adivasi to this day.

When the British introduced the Permanent Settlement in 1793, they faced stiff resistance from the tribals of eastern India. Though the white man eventually won against his primitive cousins, he felt it necessary to create two tribal administrative regions—Santhal Parganas and Chhotanagpur. Tenancy laws maintaining the traditional communal relationship of land and the Manki-Munda system were also established.

These measures were aimed at ensuring for the British the unhindered extraction of mineral and other natural resources of the region. It was as a consequence of all this that modern industry entered the tribal homeland. Early in this century, for example, P. N. Bose, suggested the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in, what is today, Jamshedpur.

The gigantic growth of industries since the Fifties and the resultant influx of non-tribals changed the ancient demographic character of the region. Land was grabbed from the tribals, they were evicted from what had been their home for millennia. Agricultural land was taken away from tribal farmers for multipurpose schemes like the Damodar Valley Project.

Industrial towns in Bokharo and Hatia coexisted uneasily and incongruously with thatched tribal roofs. Their alienation from the land forced tribals to quit cultivation and gather around industrial towns. Here tribals lived in ghettos, destitute in their own country.

It was Jaipal Singh who first raised the demand for a separate adivasi state, covering tribal areas in four states, called Jharkhand. He even fought and won a few elections on the issue. His successors have kept the flag flying and the movement centres around southern Bihar today.

The Jharkhand movement is essentially a peaceful movement. Unprovoked, Jharkhandis will not resort to violence. Most deaths in the Jharkhand movement are the result of police action on tribals.

Unfortunately, violence has become an essential criterion for the achievement of statehood. This has happened in the Northeast, particularly Mizoram. New Delhi and Patna are thus pushing the tribals towards bloodshed.

It is a myth tribals have not contributed to any kind of development. Wandering, pastoral people like the Aryans could only settle down in India on learning how to cultivate land from indigenous tribes. The knowledge of extracting, processing and using iron came to the Asuras and Khasis years ago. This historical contribution lies forgotten today.

Tribals have a proud tradition of the creation of wealth with their labour. Santals, Hos and other tribes helped lay down railway tracks in eastern and northern India. Tribals form a major chunk of the labour force in the coal, mica, iron, copper and manganese industries. They have played a vital role in redesigning India's economic landscape.

Yet, even 150 years after being linked to modern industry, these tribals are prisoners of a social system which treats them as second class citizens, a system merely interested in harnessing their collective discipline and physical strength but not enthusiastic about their welfare. Illiterate tribals mainly find use as contract labourers.

Even Tisco is guilty of misconduct. It set up a plant in an area inhabited predominantly by tribals but did not bother resettling them. Tisco did not even care to absorb these tribals as skilled workers.

Such alienation during the past three decades has only forced the tribes to develop their own, native democratic apparatus, stretch it into intersection with the sixth schedule and form autonomous district councils. The formation of other tribal states has also enhanced their overall development. Change is reflected most remarkably in the fields of education and literacy.

Tribal states are not divisive and, in fact, strengthen the unity and integrity of India and embellish its composite character. Jharkhand is already a "cultural state." It needs political legitimacy. Granting the adivasis statehood would amount to the Indian state repaying its historical debt to these indigenous people.

Congress Inner Circle Attempts To Isolate Arjun Singh

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[Article by N. K. Singh: "Bringing Arjun to Heel"; italicized words as published]

[Text]

The Congress(I) has been conducting a fierce campaign against Arjun Singh in his home state in a determined bid to humble the man who dared to challenge Rao.

With his extra-sensitive political antennae, Arjun Singh should have sensed it earlier. Ever since he was first cut down to size by the prime minister himself at the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee] session held at Surajkund, the party high command has been systematically working to reduce the Union human resource development minister's considerable political influence. Both at the Centre and in his home state of Madhya Pradesh. As a result, a hounded and humiliated Singh, who was once regarded as the biggest challenger to the throne in New Delhi, today finds himself under siege. As a former Congress(I) chief minister, who is also a long time critic of Singh, says: "The lion has his tail between his legs."

For Singh, the biggest challenge comes from the Shukla brothers—Union Minister for Water Resources, V. C. Shukla and S. C. Shukla, who was leader of the opposition in the dissolved Assembly—who are spearheading the "scuttle Arjun Singh" programme. Although Singh holds a powerful position in the Cabinet, it is the Shuklas who are calling the shots in the state under President's rule. They have taken to travelling all over Madhya Pradesh in order to shore up support for themselves and at the same time undermine Singh's standing.

Emboldened by the Shuklas' growing clout, their supporters are also hitting out at Singh. Arvind Netam, Union minister of state for agriculture, whose proximity to the Shukla brothers is well known, made his loyalties clear in a letter to PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] chief Digvijay Singh. He demanded that Madhav Rao Scindia be asked to lead the campaign against the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] in Madhya Pradesh instead of Singh. The number of Congress(I) leaders from Madhya Pradesh pitted against Singh at this juncture is formidable. His other detractors in the state include former chief minister Motilal Vora.

The offensive against Singh is clearly sponsored by the Congress high command. This was evident from Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao's tour to Madhya Pradesh last month. The entire show was controlled solely by the Shukla brothers. In fact, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) did not even bother to inform Singh about Rao's tour. Singh was eventually accommodated on the prime minister's aircraft but only after much pleading and persuasion by his supporters in New Delhi.

If there were any doubts about who was the boss, they were set to rest by the treatment meted out to Singh at the various public meetings held in the state. At a rally in Raipur, for instance, Singh was made to sit in the second row while the front row was reserved for the prime minister and the Shuklas. Moreover, the Shuklas did not miss a single opportunity to shoot barbs at Singh. V. C. Shukla made his intentions abundantly clear when he announced: "There are some persons in our party who are trying their level best to break it, having failed in

achieving their personal ambitions. Also, there are some Congressmen who are growing too big for their shoes." Earlier, his brother had openly demanded Singh's expulsion from the party.

This was not the first instance when his detractors were lashing out at Singh. Much before the prime minister's visit, they had started touring the state and raising anti-Singh slogans. Although the meetings were basically aimed at keeping the influence of the BJP in check, they also provided a perfect opportunity to run down Singh. V. C. Shukla made several successful forays in the Vindhya region. Singh's stronghold, in an attempt to win over the Brahmins. And Scindia travelled in the Madhya Bharat region drawing massive crowds at all his public meetings. The growing animosity between the two groups was evident at Rajnandgaon district where Singh as well as Scindia addressed the same public meeting but they did not meet.

Singh's descent on the political ladder began soon after President's Rule was imposed in the state. He suffered his first humiliation when his attempts to form an informal committee of important leaders in the state to help make major administrative decisions failed to materialise.

Singh was embarrassed further during a bizarre and machiavellian episode involving a bureaucrat. Brahma Swaroop, who is known to be close to him and is an advisor to Governor Kunwar Mehmood Ali Khan. Swaroop refused to implement the Governor's order removing the chief secretary and the director-general of police. With the Governor insisting on the change and the bureaucratic machinery resisting him, there was an unprecedented constitutional crisis in the state which lasted 10 days—just one month after the imposition of Governor's rule in January. Swaroop remained adamant.

The absurd situation even had the Governor running from pillar to post in New Delhi to have his orders implemented. The crisis only came to an end when Khan threatened to resign. Given Swaroop's closeness to Singh (and it is generally known that bureaucrats who get close to Singh stay loyal) the general inference being drawn among Congressmen was that Singh, for his own petty political purposes, was meddling in the administration and being obstructive.

Singh was initially mystified at what was happening but when he realised that the blame was being pinned on him and when the Governor even sent one of his advisors to plead with Singh for his "intervention" to end the impasse, he decided to ask Swaroop what was going on. Swaroop told him he had been given instructions by the home Ministry not to effect the transfers. Singh surmised that the home ministry officials could not have launched the attempt to malign him without a nod from the prime minister. An enraged Singh then confronted Rao about the matter at a meeting with S. B. Chavan and top

ministry officials which by the end had turned fairly ugly with Singh losing his temper.

Singh's marginalisation then took a rapid turn. Soon, he found the Governor ignoring his group in the state and the reins of power being taken over by the Shukla brothers for all practical purposes. Surajkund merely put the finishing touches to Singh's isolation. Once the Centre and Madhya Pradesh turned against Singh, it did not take very long for his supporters to desert him too. Mukesh Nayak, former state Youth Congress(I) chief, was the first to move out of Singh's camp and join the Shukla brothers. After that, allies like Suresh Pachori, MP, also lost no time in jumping from what they considered was a sinking ship.

Which is not to say that Singh can be dismissed as a spent force. The fact is that he may have been humbled but he certainly has not been chastened. Given his characteristic resilience, it may not be long before Singh bounces back. He is already making moves in that direction by touring the state, especially concentrating on the Chhattisgarh region which is the Shuklas' domain. His attacks on the Shuklas have been thinly veiled: "Those Congressmen who were loyal to the party in its hour of crisis are being ignored, while the opportunists are claiming to be loyalists." He was obviously referring to the fact that the Shukla brothers have been known to have deserted the Congress(I) camp several times in the past.

So far, Singh's attempts at staging a comeback have not been entirely successful. In fact, his meetings have drawn fewer crowds than those of V. C. Shukla and Scindia. In Bhopal, for instance, despite week-long preparations by his supporters, Singh's meeting was able to draw only 7,000 people. At another public meeting at Mhow, less than 1,500 people showed up.

His rift with Rao seems to have reached a point of no return. But given his track record, nobody is writing Singh off. After all it was Singh who, quoting from the *Gita*, declared after his defeat at Surajkund: "I shall neither surrender nor escape in this war."

Congress Efforts To Divide Hindus Said Failing

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[Article by N. K. Singh and Dilip Awasthi: "Saffron Tug-of-War"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text]

Playing its own Hindu card, the Congress(I) tries to divide the sadhus as a way of solving the Ayodhya imbroglio but they fail to respond to the overtures.

The Congress(I) has botched the first stage of its post-Ayodhya gameplan for dividing the sadhus and solving the Ayodhya imbroglio by playing its own Hindu card. It had mounted an offensive to match the BJP-RSS-VHP

[Bharaitya Janata party-Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] combine's Hindu card with its own. Its strategists also tried to back a parallel agitation for the Ram temple in an attempt to bring about a split in the ranks of the sadhus.

Last month Swami Swaroopanand Saraswati, the Shankaracharya of Dwarka and Joshimath, who had recently agreed to lead a parallel agitation for the Ram temple, backed out, refusing to become the chairman of the Government's proposed trust to construct the temple. He has already conveyed his refusal to Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, considered to be the main architect of the 'divide-and-rule' strategy, saying: "We will join the trust only if the mosque is not constructed anywhere near the temple." This is a promise Rao can hardly make, considering his public commitment to rebuild the mosque.

Even as the Congress(I)'s attempt floundered, it tried to persuade Ramnareshacharya, chief of Ramanand Sampradaya, to head the Government trust in Ayodhya. Spearheading this effort was the ubiquitous and not too successful Chandra Swami who himself has failed in his efforts to organise an "independent" yagna in Ayodhya.

The only thing the Government seems to have achieved is to have galvanised the vastly superior organisation of the VHP into counter-lobbying, a factor that has contributed to the government's recurring setbacks in the divide-saffron game. The VHP leader Ashok Singhal parked himself for three days in Ayodhya in the first week of May to try to ensure that no serious defections occurred as Chandra Swami's men spread across the town recruiting sadhus for their yagna.

This is not the first time that the high-profile swami has attempted this. Similar efforts in 1991 flopped. And this time too, the VHP seems confident about holding its own. In fact, the Sangh brotherhood has already begun a subterranean campaign against the parallel Ram temple movement by denouncing its adherents as "sarkari sadhus." There is no doubt that it is hitting back, but the VHP is nevertheless viewing the Government's wooing of Ramnareshacharya with understandable trepidation because the Varanasi swami heads the Ramanand Sampradaya, theoretically the dominant seat for Ram devotees all over the country.

Moreover, his predecessor Shivramacharya was founder-president of the VHP's Ram Janmabhoomi Nyas, the nucleus body for the movement to construct the temple. Two of the present important functionaries, including President Mahant Ram Chandra Paramhans and Mahant Nrit Gopal Das themselves, are members of the Ramanand trust of Varanasi. The VHP will find it embarrassing, to say the least, if it has to object to Ramnareshacharya's nomination as the head of the Government's trust in the event of his accepting.

The Congress(I)'s representatives who are negotiating with the Varanasi swami are also nervous. If he agrees to the position and then insists on his own terms for the

construction of the temple which turn out to conflict with the party's views, the Government would have a disaster on its hands.

If the Congress(I)'s representatives who are negotiating with the Varanasi swami are also nervous. If he agrees to the position and then insists on his own terms for the construction of the temple which turn out to conflict with the party's views, the Government would have a disaster on its hands.

If the Congress(I) goes ahead and appoints Ramnaresh-acharya, the VHP's strategy will be to corner the Government on one of the crucial issues—the question of rebuilding the mosque—knowing that the Centre is vulnerable as it has been unable to take a clear stand on the matter.

Its recent setbacks are all the more disappointing for the Congress(I) given that it had appeared, at least for a while during the last two months, to be close to scoring against the VHP. A two-day congregation at Jhoteswar, Madhya Pradesh, attended by an impressive array of sadhus, resolved to distance the task of temple construction from party politics. All four shankaracharyas were represented. Puri's Swami Nischalanand came himself. Sringeri Swami Bharati Krishnateerth sent an emissary. Swami Swaroopanand represented the other two seats.

The shankaracharyas seem to think that persuading the Muslims to abandon their claim over the disputed land is not a very difficult task, provided that fanatics from both sides are banished from negotiations. Such resolutions are of course easier to pass than implement. Given how difficult it has been to bring both the sides to the negotiation table, weeding out fanatics appears to be a tall order. But, following the Jhoteswar meeting, Swami Swaroopanand organised a conference of Muslim religious and social leaders in an effort to start a dialogue. Even more astonishing, an Iftar party was organised near the holy site of the Jhoteswar temple.

But the VHP was not about to take this lying down. In rapid succession it organised *sant sammelans* at Ayodhya, Varanasi, Hardwar, Rishikesh and Mathura to demonstrate its grip over the religious community. The Hardwar assembly not only resolved to remain with the Ram Janmabhoomi Nyas, but also declared that the sadhus would have nothing to do with any other trust that might be formed for the purpose.

The different results that the wooing of the sadhus by the rival parties have produced could be because of the difference in their approach. The VHP's success was not achieved overnight. Teh Sangh brotherhood has been methodically and diligently working on the religious community of the country for years. It has been providing public platforms to the sadhus as well as making generous contributions to their *mutts* and ashrams through collections from the Ram Janmabhoomi movement. The bond between the two is as strong as the mythical Gordian knot.

So where does this leave the Congress(I)? The obvious lesson is that it cannot beat the BJP at its own game. The BJP's biggest political success is that it has made Ayodhya and Hindutva the focal point of national politics. But the Congress(I) is trying to beat it by playing only a hidden or half-hearted Hindu card. Teh party has tried this before and has been politically pulverised. Rajiv Gandhi burnt his fingers pushing his secular party to play the Hindu game against a Hindu party in 1989. The moral is clear. A communal-minded voter, given the choice between communalism and pseudo-communalism, will choose the former. What is surprising is that the Congress(I) is learning such an obvious truth so slowly and so painfully.

Congress Leadership Faulted for Alienating Muslims

93AS0899J Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
3 Jun 93 p 8

[Article by Parwez Hafeez: "Regretfully Yours"]

[Text] Is Mr Arjun Singh a masochist who enjoys humiliation at the hands of an unscrupulous prime minister? Alternatively, is Mr Singh merely trying to perform the thankless task of conscience keeper in a party which appears to have mortgaged its conscience?

For some time now, Mr Singh has been the sole mainstream political voice against the growth of fascism in the country. Ever since the demolition of the Babri Masjid Mr Singh has, covertly and overtly, been advising the Congress leadership to atone for its inaction in December 1992. His suggestion the party apologise to Muslims for the demolition is the latest example of this.

Over the past six months, Mr Singh's behaviour has been significant. It was on his insistence that the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS], the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and the Bajrang Dal [BD] were banned; it was his ultimatum that led to the dismissal of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] governments in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh.

Mr Singh's differences with Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao also came to the fore when he dissociated himself from the sub-committee preparing the white paper on Ayodhya. Apparently unhappy at the omission of certain events from the paper, Mr Singh wondered why the prime minister had not acted upon the Congress working committee's decision to dismiss Uttar Pradesh's Kalyan Singh government in November 1992. There was no satisfactory reply to this query.

Although Mr Singh has often been thwarted by a wily prime minister and his cohorts, he continues to adhere to secular ideals. This is one of the reasons he remains among the very few Congress leaders to command the respect of the Muslim community.

Mr Singh's judgment of the Muslim psyche is fairly accurate. The pathetic performance of the Congress in

the recent byelections justifies his contention there is "disquiet" among the Muslim masses.

Muslims are completely alienated from the Congress, the party they have traditionally patronised. It is against this background that Mr Singh's suggestion the Congress apologise for the destruction of the Babri Masjid should be viewed.

Once again, the Congress leadership is refusing to see the writing on the wall. Mr V.N. Gadgil, Mr Vasant Sathe, Mr Sushil Kumar Shinde and Mr Dinesh Singh have all insisted there is no question of the Congress apologising. Mr Jagannath Mishra has even had the audacity to ask, "Apology for what?"

Interestingly, while campaigning for his party in the Patna Lok Sabha constituency Mr Mishra begged Muslims for their votes. He issued an advertisement in a local Urdu newspaper imploring Muslims to let bygones be bygones.

It is obvious the Congress has not learnt from history. Had Indira Gandhi expressed regret after Operation Bluestar, the past decade would have been very different for the country.

Mr Gadgil, the official Congress spokesman, has said the onus of apology lies with the BJP and not the Congress. This is ridiculous. The Congress government in New Delhi was forewarned about the kar seva, it had given an assurance that no damage would be done to the Babri Masjid and it had a lot of time in which to act. Yet, the mosque was razed.

The Congress is clearly in the dock. It is preposterous on its part to demand an apology from the BJP, a party which equates December 6, 1992 with August 15, 1947.

The prime minister should apologise for not fulfilling his pledge that the Babri Masjid would be protected at all costs. Mr Rao made the promise from the ramparts of the Red fort on Independence Day last year.

The people would have forgiven Mr Rao if he had salvaged even one of the Ayodhya shrine's three domes. What pained the minorities was the lack of any attempt to protect even a part of the Babri Masjid. The prime minister owes an apology to Muslims for allowing the construction of the makeshift temple on the spot where the mosque stood. The Babri Masjid was demolished under BJP rule but the temple was built under president's rule. This cannot be forgotten.

Immediately after the destruction of the Babri Masjid, the prime minister issued a public statement affirming the mosque would be reconstructed at the very site where it had stood till the afternoon of December 6. He soon buckled under the pressure of the sangh parivar and the promised masjid is nowhere in sight.

The prime minister should apologise to the victims of the nationwide riots which broke out on December 6, 1992. More particularly, Mr Rao should make amends

for the atrocities in Maharashtra and Gujarat, both Congress ruled states. The abdication of governance during the January pogrom against the Muslims of Bombay certainly merits an apology.

Today, the votaries of Hindutva are punishing Muslims for supporting the Congress in election after election. The least the beleaguered community expects from the Congress is physical and economic protection.

If the Congress has refused to apologise to Muslims it is because it has realised any show of injured innocence will not bring the community back to its fold. It has dawned on the party that the gullible Muslim is not so gullible after all.

Instead of working towards rebuilding the Babri Masjid, the prime minister seems more keen on constructing a grand temple in Ayodhya. The Congress leadership appears eager to join the Hindutva bandwagon. It has probably seen much wisdom in the old adage "if you can't beat them join them."

A consequence of this policy has been the collaboration of the Congress with the BJP in the West Bengal panchayat polls. In Habra, the BJP captured its first municipality in the state because of the withdrawal of Congress candidates in its favour.

In such a situation, the advice of Mr Arjun Singh is bound to be ignored. The Congress, showing obvious signs of senility and decay after a century of existence, has little time for a damage limitation exercise vis a vis Muslims. In its reverie, it does not realise it is losing the traditional Muslim vote but cannot win over the BJP's supporters. It is nobody's first choice party.

Congress Leadership Faulted On Not Supporting Mamata Banerjee

93AS08991 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
4 Jun 93 p 8

[Editorial: "Opportunity But..."]

[Text] Much as the Congress(I) High Command might consider—with some justification—that its West Bengal unit has ceased to exist, its unexpected showing in the panchayat polls makes it clear that it is still part of the political chessboard. Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet would not have taken the trouble to suggest that there was a split between the pro and anti-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] groups in the PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] had it not been for the need to neutralize anti-CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)] sentiment even in pockets considered part of the red bastion. In that sense, Mr Surjeet's stunning observation that the section of the West Bengal Congress(I) fed by Miss Mamata Banerjee is moving closer to the BJP is apparently aimed at making things more difficult for someone who was and still is the biggest thorn in the side of West Bengal's ruling party. If she has been effectively marginalized for reasons best known to Mr Narasimha

Rao, it does not mean that she has lost her popular base. Her mentor Mr Santosh Mohan Dev has not yet recovered from the Tripura fiasco. Among her other wellwishers, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray is far away in Washington. Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi is making covert attempts to stage a comeback and Mr Pranab Mukherjee is likely to befriend her if she can assure him his berth in the Rajya Sabha.

Whatever the State Congress(I) achieved was in spite of the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee] which offered no support, financial or otherwise, for the panchayat polls. The party was practically without an organizational machinery. Miss Mamata Banerjee relied on her reputation as a crowd-puller and proved yet again that she is a force that New Delhi chooses not to recognize. If, in some pockets like Habra the Youth Congress (I) workers were encouraged to join forces with the BJP to keep the CPI(M) out, she was at least being consistent. She knows that a sustained anti-CPI(M) line is her best bet. If anything, Mr Somen Mitra needs to explain to the party's rank and file why Mr Surjeet could hardly contain himself in expressing satisfaction with PCC(I) leaders, Mr Mitra included. Surreptitious connexions are perhaps part of the political game. The tragedy is that the State Congress(I) is trapped in its petty squabbles and virtually incapable of pulling itself out together. Out of the blue, a new opportunity now presents itself; in all probability, this too will be wasted.

Reversal of RSS, Bajrang Dal Bans Welcomed

93AS0924B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 9 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by R. C. Pandit: "The Court's Decision is Welcome"]

[Text] On 4 June, a parliamentary tribunal said in a 340-page decision that there is no basis for imposing restrictions on the two organizations related to the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad]. In the context of the VHP, the committee said that the moral responsibility for the destruction of the disputed structure on 6 December falls on the VHP leaders. The tribunal talked to 25 witnesses for the Central Government, 10 for the VHP, two for the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], and one for the Bajrang Dal in its 48 hearings. The tribunal clearly indicated in its decision that the Bajrang Dal and other parties may have some moral responsibility for tearing down the structure; however, there is no legal basis for imposing restrictions on them. The bench also said that the government's decision to impose restrictions on the VHP was correct in that the VHP leaders had given inflammatory speeches and had given permission for such speeches, which they could have stopped if they wanted to.

Mr. Vishnu Hari Dalmia, president of the VHP, said that he would file an appeal against the bench's decision. The RSS said that the government had imposed restrictions on it for the third time after the 1948 and 1975 restrictions. It has 35,000 branches and 2.9 million members,

and knows its responsibilities well. In this context, the bench has declared invalid the Central Government's argument that the RSS and the Bajrang Dal consider the VHP their leader. This tribunal and other such decisions coming in the future are not bothering the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], because it is occupied with the preparations for the elections in four states during October and November. It is working on its plan to organize election strategies in each election constituency of these four states. Perhaps Mr. Lal Krishna Advani, the new BJP president, will issue instructions to the state party presidents during the Bangalore convention. The 67-year-old Advani will be appointed president of the BJP for the third time. He was the party president from 1985 to 1987 and from 1984 to 1989. He relinquished the president's office to Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi in 1991 in Jaipur. However, during the 16-17 June 1993 party convention to be held in Bangalore, the decision will be made to nominate Mr. Advani as party president again, due to the internal strife prevalent within the party.

According to BJP sources, the success in the Panchayat and other local organizations' elections in West Bengal is credited to Mr. Advani's trip to that state. The party believes that if Mr. Advani can be successful in this difficult task, then taking care of the party's internal strife will be a trifle for him. It is said that six months ago, in states where the party was strong and was in government, there was strong disagreement over organizational elections, which worried the party leadership. The members in their zeal to get into power were forgetting party principles. The party is straightening itself out under Mr. Advani's leadership, as is evident in last year's election victories. Mr. Advani said that the next plan will be revealed during the 16-17 June meeting in Bangalore, and efforts to reinstate the dismissed governments of four states will begin during the three-day conference. He said that, after the special bench's decision, it would be appropriate for the Central Government to reinstate the governments of those states. According to our sources, whether or not Mr. Advani will remain the opposition leader in the Lok Sabha will depend on Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee's decision. Mr. Advani, however, has clearly indicated that he would not like to be in two positions.

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao became a victim of influenza and suddenly canceled all of his plans. On one occasion he tried to be stubborn, requesting that his trip to Bhutan be changed to 8-9 June. He was stopped, however, due to doctor's advice. He could not postpone his trip to the Madhya Pradesh capital of Bhopal to 12 June, because he does not want to make any changes in the party strategy for the upcoming Vidhan Sabha elections. He is not willing to change his plans to go abroad on 14 June. According to political sources, the prime minister's meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton during his trip to the United States is considered very important. It is also considered very important that both countries agree on human rights issues before the prime

minister goes there. According to reliable sources, the list that has been made is very long and complex. Among the issues that are being discussed prior to this trip, the most important is the question of whether the United States will declare Pakistan a terrorist nation for encouraging terrorist activities in India. The statements issued regarding this question have not been implemented so far. At the same time, the politicians assume that the United States is adopting a policy of pressuring India regarding Kashmir and human rights. If some concrete results are obtained from this trip, then Narasimha Rao's visit to the United States will be considered successful.

Punjabi Terrorists Seen Active in Terai Region

93AS0926 New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 12 Jun 93
p 4

[Editorial: "Murders in the Terai Again"]

[Text] It could be coincidental, or just the goal of the Khalistani terrorists, that whenever the UP [Uttar Pradesh] police claim to have cleaned them up, there is always an incident which destroys the peace in the Terai region. Only a few days ago, Mr. Parkash Singh, who was leaving his position to become the director of the Border Security Force, announced while saying farewells to the UP police that terrorism has been eradicated in this state. When Ved Parkash Kapoor took his position as police director, he announced that whatever terrorists remained would be cleaned up also. The terrorists, as if in response to these announcements, murdered 11 innocent people in three villages in the Lakhimpur Kheri district. They strangled two people, cut some people's necks, and shot two other people. The five terrorists who killed these people walked into the village and walked out after killing them. The people killed by the terrorists had been working in their fields and were returning home. They all belonged to lower castes and the labor class. It does not appear that the terrorists wanted to take revenge or to kill specific people. They had come out to kill, and whoever came in their way was killed. In other words, the terrorists just wanted some action, or wanted to tell the police that they were still active in Terai, and would do whatever they wanted to do. If this bloody and murderous message is for anyone, it is for the police, whose highest officers announced the elimination of terrorists. It does not matter whether it is Terai or Punjabi terrorists; they can be active anywhere. There were no incidents in Terai for two to three months. In Punjab also, many days passed without any terrorist activity. For a few days, the lack of any killing by the terrorists, or the police not killing a terrorist, became important news items. There had been so much unrest and violence in Punjab during the last 12 years that peace and law and order have become newsworthy items.

The Khalistani terrorism in Terai came from Punjab. Whatever terrorist group came under the pressure of the Punjab police moved to the Terai region. Not only Sikh farmers' homes, but jungles in the Terai region, have become strongholds of the terrorists. The Nepal border is

nearby, and it is not as well guarded by the police as the Punjab-Pakistan border. Terrorists had been pushed out of Punjab for the last several months. Their leaders had been killed, and all avenues of ammunition supplies to them had been sealed. Some of the gangs had been completely obliterated. The Khalistani Commando Force, which left the proof of its existence in Terai, appears to have escaped from Punjab. It is also possible that they had been hiding here previously and had become active when they found the opportunity or were challenged. Therefore, the lesson from these murders in the Terai region is that the high officers of the police should not make unnecessary claims and announcements. Raising the morale of their policemen is definitely important; however, exaggerating these claims and announcements to a level that might affect police action is something else. The second lesson is that if the terrorists could not do anything for two or three months, then they should not have believed that terrorism could be eradicated. The terrorists could come out with their guns at any time and kill innocent people on their way home or to work. To stop them from doing so, it is necessary that whenever the police start to implement a plan, it should not be left unfinished. The third and the last lesson is that even when we claim that terrorism has been eradicated in Punjab and that there are only a few terrorists remaining in Terai, the situation is not such that the police and security forces could be lulled into complacency. Be it A.T.S. Gil or Ved Parkash Kapoor, the time to stop worrying about terrorism is still far away. The murder of 11 innocent people in three Terai villages is a warning that the war against terrorism must continue.

Criminalization of Politics Seen Destroying Democracy

93AS0924A Varanasi AJ (Supplement) in Hindi
13 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ved Agarwal: "Criminalization of Politics is Fatal to Democracy"]

[Text] It could be coincidental that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao called a meeting of state chief ministers to stop the ingress of criminals into politics exactly when a Congress legislator was arrested for a serious crime in Maharashtra and a Congress Party member was arrested in Delhi for raping a woman. Accusations of this type are levied against members of all political parties. When such a tendency is an exception it is ignored and dismissed as human weakness and a lack of moral character. However, when it becomes a common practice, it causes serious concern. In this context, the warning given by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao about the criminalization of social and political life is very timely. But it places his own party in the criminal's box. If crimes have doubled during the last 40 years, crimes against women have increased by 350 percent, and only 50 percent of the accused are sentenced in the courts, then we cannot blame an inactive or inefficient government. We have to blame it on the political system of the past 45 years.

There is no doubt that a criminal has a specific life and psychological history of committing crimes, but all in all, a complex social atmosphere plays a major role in a person becoming a criminal. How deeply crime has settled into our social and political life is proved by the Italian word "mafia," which was originally used by the organized crime families of Sicily, and is being widely used in India in various contexts.

The speed with which criminal tendencies have increased in various political parties during the last two decades has caused concern among the people who had been viewing this dangerous development from a distance. They agree with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao that our politics have been "criminalized" and that no sphere of our society will be safe from crime. There can be no differences about it. In an election-based democratic society, however, the government and various political parties have to take the initiative of eradicating this sickness. There is no doubt that when criminals reach high elected and cabinet-level positions, and when politicians give protection to criminals, then the moral standards of public office-holders will fall dramatically. If criminals and outlaws are not kept out of public office, the people will lose faith in the election process and the democratic government. The tendency to elect criminals to political office and make them respected leaders is still on the rise. That is why corruption, extortion, and political assassinations are increasing.

There is presently no political party whose members do not protect criminals. Since politics is a public service, politicians come in contact with people from all walks of life and are lured by various temptations. Therefore, we cannot expect politicians to be totally above greed. During the last two decades, criminal participation in the political process has not been the exception; rather, it has become the rule. In almost every state, the incidence of entry of organized criminals and criminal groups into politics is increasing. The new term "political mafia" has become common in our vocabulary now. Even the cultural sphere of education has been infiltrated by mafia groups in many states. Be it an educational mafia or a jungle mafia, it is always related to politics in one way or another.

At the beginning of the democratic system here, some politicians, in order to win elections, began to give protection to criminal elements to protect their political interests. At that time, these criminal elements had not joined politics directly. During the last few years, however, they have not only joined politics, but have taken over local jobs and arrived in Vidhan Sabhas and the Lok Sabha through elections. These elements have no dearth of financial and muscle power. Therefore, it is easy for them to win elections using these. The worst aspect of this system is that some notorious robbers succeed in getting tickets from well respected political parties. At times, some robbers are seen to be actively endorsing specific candidates. The prime minister's concern is focusing on two kinds of criminal practices. There is a rapid increase in the influence of criminals on the

election process, fake votes, and forcing people to vote. The practice of fake votes is very old in our country. However, the practice of forcibly taking over ballot centers, threatening election officials, and assassinating the opponents have made it impossible to hold elections in some regions. It is obvious that these actions are taken at the behest of politicians, and that a lot of money is spent on these. It is important to understand that this has been possible because of the opportunity to spend more money on elections than is allowed by law. Therefore, if we want to stop this practice of violence and taking over ballot centers, then we must end the use of black money in elections. Crime cannot be stopped just by making the security system more efficient. We must find ways to improve the election process and make running for election cheaper.

The criminalization of politics is emerging as a major problem. The greatest problem in this system is corruption. Political corruption is so rampant that it has become difficult to say whether or not a specific minister is corrupt and is taking unnecessary advantage of his position. The greatest misfortune is that, even after open accusations of corruption, no objective investigation is carried out. Instead, these people are protected by various means. This tendency only encourages more corruption. In India, government workers and officers are also corrupt. When they see politicians involved in corruption and abusing their positions, they are encouraged to become corrupt themselves. These days, businessmen and industrialists openly say that they can get the government to do anything if they bribe government officials. This is true, of course; no work can be done in government departments now without bribes. Receiving or giving bribes, or providing any kind of temptation is, after all, a crime.

Crimes are on the rise outside of government circles also. No citizen feels safe in our society anymore. The criminal situation is especially bad in some states. A state government that cannot punish criminals and cannot stop crime is not a government in a real sense. The first duty of a government is to establish law and order and punish the criminals. It is unfortunate that none of the state governments are determinedly doing anything to stop crime.

Before the germs of this terminal sickness destroy our political structure, and in order to protect the greater interests of our nation, the political parties that believe in parliamentary democracy will have to decide by common agreement that they will not provide protection to criminal elements and will not honor them by providing them tickets for elections. Will the political parties be willing to do that? The rise of caste and communal politics during the last decade has made it even more difficult. If political parties continue to dye politics in the color of castes in order to win elections, then the police and law enforcement officials will either be helpless or will join them. The second worry the prime minister has is human rights violations. He said that because of terrorist activities, the government had to

pass laws that violate human rights. There is some fear that innocent people will become victims when such laws are enforced. While recognizing this, we can say that our police and law-and-order organizations do not violate human rights in non-terrorist-related activities. Therefore, it is important to fully analyze the Indian penal code, and laws relating to witnesses and investigations. However, these actions will be effective only when political parties rise above party interests and admit that the influx of criminals in the political system is suicidal.

This meeting will be effective only when all major parties in the country, as well as the Central Government, change their attitude about criminals. The truth is that the Center has not given much importance to the increase of crime in the society. It has only taken some ceremonial steps in this direction. Will all political parties, along with the Congress Party, throw out the criminal elements, admit their crimes, and stop encouraging and protecting the criminals? Our movies, which glamorize crime and are spreading violence in the country, sometimes raise a voice against crime; however, it is suppressed. It has become almost impossible to live in the Indian society without committing a legal or moral crime. Making progress in personal or public life here simply means being involved in crime or looking the other way when crimes are committed. Since crime and punishment are basically moral concepts, any argument about these will always be carried out in the merciless vocabulary of morality and idealism. It can be successful only through fearless moral action. The mafia in Italy assassinates intellectuals, judges, and leaders who oppose it. Before this starts on a wide scale in India, we must change our philosophy and there should be a merciless purge of our society and politics, regardless of how impossible this could be.

Why are the political parties that repeatedly talk about convening the meeting of the National Unity Federation not worried about the increasing criminal situation in this country? Is it not a cause of concern that a crime is committed every seven seconds in this country? If the rate of crime continues to increase at this rate, then India will become the most crime-ridden country in the world. Those who think that the increasing crime in politics and our society are threatening our national unity should be worried. The fact is that the mentality which forced our society into this situation is endangering our national unity most. The increase in crime has made our society immoral. At this time, there is no room for character, ideals, and good qualities in our social, political, or economic life. We have to think hard, because it appears that in this era, faith in moral values, ideals, and traditions is decreasing. Now that the whole society is suffering from a criminal mentality, who will be left to deal with the crime? A large portion of our society has become criminal, and since the police administration and the legal system is also part of this society, the influence of a crime-ridden society on them is natural.

It is appropriate and possible to blame the political leaders, investors, criminal groups, and the police; however, this accusation cannot help us much. We are a democratic nation, and the Indian social and political mechanism is in its present state because we let it become that way. A few days ago, a former chief justice in India's Supreme Court expressed the concern that this country's legal system is moving towards self-destruction. The experts and leaders in this field express concern that their profession is headed for destruction. Perhaps the millions of illiterate, downtrodden, and neglected people in this country may not be responsible for this situation; however, the administrators, technical experts, and intellectuals who are controlling the administration and organization are definitely guilty of this violation of trust.

Advani Interviewed on Goals as BJP President

93AS0925B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 15 Jun 93
p 5

[Interview with Lal Krishna Advani by Ram Bahadur Ray and Pradeep Singh; date and place not given"]

[Text] The factionalism seen in the organizational election is not worrying Lal Krishna Advani, the new BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] president. Mr. Advani considers the noise raised about this to be wrong, illogical, and a waste of time. However, he says that the Congress and other political parties are suffering from internal strife and factionalism. He also says that all this cannot happen in the BJP, because people have high expectations of it and use high standards to test it. Even a small speck on a white sheet stands out, while it is almost invisible on a dirty cloth. After being elected national president, Mr. Advani discussed several issues with us in an interview.

[JANSATTA] You have become president of the party again. What are your priorities as its president?

[Advani] The Congress and other opposition parties have started a strong anti-BJP campaign during the last six months, especially after 6 December. This rivalry is different from regular rivalries between political parties because of its firm intensity. It has not hurt us at the people's level; instead, it has only helped us. The process of polarization that started a few years ago is moving forward. India's politics was divided into Congress and non-Congress camps. Now there is a new polarization of the BJP and non-BJP camps. This has not hurt us at the level of the people, but the BJP has been hurt in some sections of the country and in the world.

One job the party is facing now is to shed light on this vacuum. We have to remove the doubts expressed by the groups about the BJP's proper and healthy image, which are prevalent among most of the people. The Congress is falling fast. With the fall of communism worldwide, left wing parties have lost direction. The Janata Dal has divided into many factions and cannot rise from this fall. It is ironic that all the activities taking place in various

factions of the Janata Dal are inspired by the BJP. In this atmosphere of political vacuum, the BJP looks like a natural option for the people. The disappointment in other parties is very intense, and the BJP (including the Jan Sangh) has done so much work that expectations from the BJP have increased. These expectations are at policy levels, and this party will offer solutions to the problems the country is facing and also check the actions of party members. The second task is for party leaders and workers to know how many expectations are tied to them, and they must act according to these expectations. The party must be prepared for this.

[JANSATTA] What are the short- and long-term political challenges that the BJP is facing?

[Advani] We have to plan, keeping in mind that elections in the four states are to be held before 15 December. We have to resolutely plan on winning the elections in these four states. But I believe that the way the Central Government is limping now, it will be able to stay this way for five years. Any unexpected incidents within the ruling party, another incident among the cooperating parties of the government, or some exposure of scandal can totally demolish this weak government any day. Therefore, we have to prepare our members in the Bangalore Conference for the possibility of Lok Sabha elections, in addition to Vidhan Sabha elections. The party must be prepared for it.

[JANSATTA] Keeping in mind the struggle for power that emerged in your party during the organization elections, is your party able to face these challenges?

[Advani] I have been in the Jan Sangh since 1951. I know that this has happened continuously in some states. These incidents did not get publicity. The BJP and the Jan Sangh were not news items in the beginning. The BJP is at the center of politics now. As a result, even the Delhi city and district elections make the headlines on the front page. The importance given to the ICS [Indian Civil Service] sit-ins is given to our small units now. I am not trying to undermine the internal strife and bitterness in the party by talking about this. Only in two states were there no uncontested elections. In every party, there are efforts at high levels to form a consensus. We try to do that at the state and central levels, because the working committee is nominated at these levels. Why did we not succeed in having a consensus in Madhya Pradesh? It is true that we did not make any efforts at the central level. We thought we could let the election take place. We did try in Gujarat. I was not involved. The dispute there was over the working committee and the appointment of a secretary. I told them, however, that I could not be involved.

[JANSATTA] It appears that a power struggle has started in the BJP.

[Advani] Many news reports have been published in the newspapers in this context. These are not correct. It is said that the BJP is riding a lion, and that violence is

increasing in the party because it is being led by militants. There is no element of truth to this, and we should not worry about something that is not true. I tell my party members that they should not use the standard that the Congress Party has. If dirty spots are made on a dirty cloth, they are not visible. However, a very small spot on a white sheet is distinctly visible. I will present this point to my party members. However, all in all, I do not believe there is a power struggle within my party.

[JANSATTA] Then what are the reasons for the increasing lack of discipline in your party?

[Advani] The party is growing. New elements are joining it. Even the Jan Sangh did not have the discipline that the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] has.

[JANSATTA] Does this mean that the inclusion of new people will lead to a loss of discipline?

[Advani] I do not believe so. New people should join the party. But we do not lower standards when new people join. We must pay attention to this.

[JANSATTA] What are your long-term plans about the party, the government, and foreign policy?

[Advani] The friends who specialize in different areas and have come in contact with me will help me prepare a policy statement. We will especially try to analyze each area thoroughly and give it as clear a direction as possible. Many people have offered their help as the prestige of our party has increased, and they have asked me to assist in various projects.

[JANSATTA] You said in your white paper issued in Ayodhya that this is an extension of national awareness. Have you planned to document this?

[Advani] I am thinking about implementing it now. I have emphasized during Rathayatra that the BJP did not jump into the Ayodhya campaign just to build the temple. The VHP and the RSS were worried about it for many years. I led a nationwide campaign over Kashmir during Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji's time. I have believed since then that the beliefs of other parties about nationalism and secularism is skewed. My campaign since then has been against this bias. I believe that the BJP's decision to jump into the Ayodhya campaign was a new step against this bias. That is why we did not take any other issue except Ayodhya. We keep asking what we are doing about Mathura and Kashi. We have limited our activities to Ayodhya, which is different from Mathura and Kashi. There is no mosque in Ayodhya. If there was, it was only until 1936. In 1986, when the Babri Masjid Action Committee was formed and they demanded that the structure be rebuilt, and all other political parties endorsed it, we felt that the biased secularism had reached its extreme. We said that we would start a campaign against it. In the context of national secularism, the Ayodhya campaign and participation by the BJP has given it a cutting edge. The main point is that nationalism has to move forward in its

proper form and present the real secularism to our nation. This work will continue. We do not mind if someone gives it the name of Hinduism or anything else. Today they are calling it Hinduism, and this whole campaign is an attack on Hinduism. By Hinduism, we mean the same thing that leaders from Tilak to Gandhi believed in during the independence campaign. They did not reach an agreement on the Vande Mataram [Hail Mother India; national song]. We have learned all these things from our independence campaign. The Congress gave them up in the name of secularism. The BJP has joined this important aspect to it. The BJP started the Vande Mataram in the Lok Sabha.

We need to explain it further. It should be made clear that our beliefs about the Hindu reawakening is not in reaction to this pseudo-secularism. Instead, it is a solid philosophy. The backward faction of our nation, which considered itself exploited religiously, should realize that BJP beliefs are different. That is why the VHP selected a Harijan from Bihar to lay the foundation stone of the temple.

[JANSATTA] There have been questions raised about the BJP's image in Ayodhya.

[Advani] This has been happening since 1989. Whenever we decrease our discussion about Ayodhya, we are told that we should abandon it. If we discuss it, then we are told that we have no other issue at all. This issue has increased BJP acceptance so much that it is impossible to forget it, and it is not appropriate either. This is not the VHP or Jan Sangh campaign; it is our nation's determination. No blast can stop this. The Som Yajna that Chandra Swami started has made this clear to us.

[JANSATTA] The government is introducing legislation to stop using religion in politics. What is your reaction to this?

[Advani] We shall see when this legislation is passed. Even the present legislation about elections declares a slight appeal in the name of religion and language to be a crime. The government wants to control the increasing influence of the BJP. It has taken many wrong steps because of this. However, our influence continues to increase, and this legislation will only help us.

[JANSATTA] What will be your main issue in the next election?

[Advani] This depends on the time of the election. At present, there is a debate over the real form of nationalism and genuine secularism. However, we shall raise a major issue for this election. National defense, the safety of the average citizen, the Bombay bomb blasts, and the present situation of the Congress Party have forced the average citizen to conclude that the government cannot guarantee the safety of our nation. This is caused by the corruption and criminalization of politics.

[JANSATTA] The opposition has not raised the issue of the Pratibhuti scandal with similar force. Why?

[Advani] This scandal can also become an issue. It depends on the Harshad talks. We are waiting to see how far this sphere reaches. The same way the Congress detractors have remembered this scandal shows that this affair can reach its target.

[JANSATTA] The BJP accused of having similar economic goals as of the Congress Party.

[Advani] The problem with the critics of the economic system is that they see everything in black and white. The BJP is opposed to the Nehru and Mahalanobis models. It believes that a centralized economy is wrong. In 1991, the Congress government at the Center also believed that this was wrong. Therefore, we said that this direction was correct. How successful we will be in this depends on how the government mechanism accepts it. It appears to us from the government policy that it is interested more in the internationalization, rather than the liberalization, of our economic system. In such a situation, the government has to accept orders from the World Bank and the IMF.

The BJP has raised the issue of swadeshi [using Indian-made products]. Our belief about swadeshi is not the same as it was during the independence campaign. We are talking about mentality. The tendency to copy others does not help our country. Every country's situation and values are different. We can learn from Japan. We cannot copy the United States and Germany. The economic critics criticize this policy because they want to see us in black and white, while our country needs a gray area.

[JANSATTA] What is the BJP's stand on Kargil?

[Advani] We have opposed Kargil. We cannot keep repeating the East India Company now. This indicates our inferiority complex.

[JANSATTA] Will you join the socialist campaign in this context?

[Advani] Our Gujarat unit will decide that. However, the socialists have been campaigning against us continuously. At times, they call us efficient, while at others, they say we are not opposing enough.

Struggle For Leadership Succession Within RSS Viewed

93AS0961A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 17 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Raj Kumar: "Sangh Parivar: 'Seized With the Question of Succession'"]

[Text] Mr. Bala Saheb Deoras, the chief of the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], has been sick for a long time. Who will replace him? This question is gnawing at the insides of the RSS mavericks; they are quiet on the outside. According to the RSS constitution, the chief of the party is not elected; he is appointed by the departing chief. The founder of the RSS was K.V. Hedgewar. He appointed M.S. Gololkar as his successor. Mr. Gololkar

was better known as Guruji. Guruji appointed his successor, Bala Saheb Deoras. What Bala Saheb will do will be clear after he resigns on his own or dies. According to Bala Saheb, he will prepare his will, which will be kept in a safe place. It would not be surprising to learn that it has already been done. All work in the RSS is done according to a fascist system. What will happen is never known to anyone. Whatever order is given is expected to be obeyed. It is called "strict discipline" in the party.

The second chief of the RSS, Gololkar, was a great admirer of Hitler and his system. It was he who established this "discipline system" thoroughly, like the roots of a banyan tree. These roots are deep now. Only time will tell what will happen in the future. The breezes of the changing situation have also touched the RSS and may still be doing so. In the past no one budged. Now, selected mavericks in the RSS have started to whisper in privacy. During Hedgewar's time, Gololkar and Bala Saheb were both general secretaries. Presently, the general secretary is one H.V. Sheshadri. Professor Rajendra Singh, known as Rajju Bhैया, is joint general secretary. One of these will inherit the throne. However, there is a question mark surrounding this. It is perceivable in the statement issued by veteran RSS leader Dr. S.V. Varnekar. According to him, "It is possible that Bala Saheb will eliminate the chief's office. The organizational structure of the RSS is spread all over the country and is self-sufficient. There are 20,000 branches in the whole country, and there are about 60,000 units in 400 districts. In addition, there are well organized political, economic, student, and labor groups."

We have to recognize one fact. Since the 1950s, there have been a lot of changes in the working style, thought, and political leanings of the RSS. This began in 1950, after Gandhi's assassination. The RSS was declared an illegal party. Mr. Gololkar was restlessly trying to get the ban lifted. Sardar Patel was India's home minister at the time, and he was strongly determined to quietly eradicate the RSS. To achieve this, he wanted a written constitution for it. The RSS had to finally give in and had to present a written constitution. This constitution is still there.

The activities of the RSS revolve around the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the National Students Federation, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP], the Indian Farmers Union, the Indian Labor Union, and the Rashtriya Sevak Party. All of these jointly formed the RSS family. Whenever there are four utensils, they tend to make a clashing noise. These sounds have started to increase in the RSS family also.

This sound has been continuously increasing since the 6 December 1992 Ayodhya incident. The worries of the VHP sometimes increase, and at other times, those of the BJP too. Holy men have also jumped on the heads of both parties. The VHP has mounted this lion, but it is finding it very hard to control it. The situation has become very troublesome for the RSS leadership. As a result, from time to time it has to break some of its own

rules. Because of this, saying yes and no in the same breath has become a habit for it. It has become impossible for the RSS to break this habit. This is proved by the RSS role in the Uma Bharati and Sundar Lal Patwa incidents.

The RSS has now been forced to "drink water from the hands of" the BJP, and even more so, from the VHP. While this situation developed, there was a struggle between the BJP and the VHP over leadership. The RSS members are trying to be alert in order to control both parties. To this end, it was forced to take the route of appeasement. According to an announcement made by Lal Krishna Advani of the BJP, the mosques in Kashi and Mathura are not on the party's agenda at present. Ashoka Singhal, the VHP's general secretary, has announced, "Kashi and Mathura are definitely on our agenda." We have seen that the VHP is stronger when it comes to spreading communal prejudice. Rajendra Singh, the joint secretary of the RSS, has no alternative but to agree with Singhal when they are face-to-face. Meanwhile, the BJP decided to remain adamant on this issue. The RSS started to work on running for election in collaboration with the BJP in order to keep its hold on both parties. Wherever there was internal strife, the RSS managed to establish its supremacy there and to fulfill its goals. The BJP heaved a sigh of relief and used this opportunity to claim that it was a disciplined party. However, this surface conflict will get worse, and it will deepen during the Vidhan Sabha elections. Mr. Singhal believes that "they hunted this animal and the BJP picked it up." Meanwhile, the BJP has already had a taste of being in power. It is salivating now that there is an opportunity to gain power. The RSS will have to bring it to the fore in order for it to play the role of the "high priest." It will be forced once again to "put a multi-textured dot on its forehead" in order to keep both parties happy.

Keeping in mind the long sickness of RSS chief Bala Saheb Deoras, discussions are held in a whisper about the question of the next RSS chief. Therefore, the political clouds in the RSS horizon are increasing in north India instead of west India. This indication has made the northern RSS leaders more active. RSS members in the west are eager to appoint an RSS leader of their own liking, because there is also the question of keeping the tradition alive. The key to this lock is in the hand of Deoras.

The head office of Bal Thakre's Shiv Sena is in Bombay. It is impossible for Thakre not to hear about even the slightest activity in the RSS and BJP camps. The meeting of top RSS leaders was held in Bombay during the last week of April. Rajendra Singh, alias Rajju Bhैया; K.C. Sudarshan; H.V. Sheshadri; Dantopant Thegri; Ashoka Singhal; Moropant Pingle; and Aabaji Thate participated in this meeting. At the meeting, Mr. Singhal attacked Rajendra Singh openly. This attack was caused by Rajendra Singh's supporting Advani for the BJP presidency. The other leaders of the RSS were not consulted before Rajendra Singh endorsed Advani and this had

made Mr. Singhal very angry. He went as far as to say, "Do you think everyone else is an indentured servant?" This comment was greatly exaggerated, and Dantopant Thegri said, "Mr. Bala Saheb Deoras is unhappy with all these happenings." This is what is happening in the fundamentalist camp of the RSS. The other issue is that he is unhappy that Murli Manohar Joshi has not been given the BJP presidency, and that he is upset that his hold on the BJP is loosening. This has to some extent made clear the fact that the RSS is getting out of its "indirect" role and is taking the path of "direct" participation.

The possibility of internal strife within the RSS family is increasing. There are fights over dividing the limited fruits of victory, and it would be surprising if this fight did not continue. After seeing "the tendency to encourage the habits of the son," it appears that there will be no more surprises. Because of this situation, the question of who replaces Bala Saheb Deoras has become very important. Among the aspirants is Professor Rajendra Singh, alias Rajju Bhaiya. The question is: will Bala Saheb be willing to give up the Maratha supremacy of this party? The equation is changing. Many of Murli Manohar Joshi's supporters have switched to the Advani camp in the BJP.

After the Ayodhya incident, all slogans were left behind. Only the slogan of Hinduism remains alive. It has also been successful in creating a "battle energy." This is the kind of point at which none of the RSS detractors will leave. The intellectual exercises of the Marxists, the Mandal rhetoric of the Janata Dal, the death knell screams of the Indian People's Front, and the Congress Party's being adamant will not be able to stop this flow. The only question left is whether the RSS family will continue to keep the slogan of Hinduism an emotional issue in the days to come. The answer to this question will definitely play a very important role in the Indian political arena.

Editorial Views Advani's Return as BJP President

93AS0961B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 21 Jun 93
p 6

[Editorial: "Advani's Return"]

[Text] After two years, Lal Krishna Advani has taken over the presidency of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] again. The BJP needed a leader that could take them outside of the Hindi-speaking states, expand on the caste basis, and make this expansion a logical campaign issue. Lal Krishna Advani played an important role in changing the Ramjanambhoomi issue into a people's campaign and translate it into election results. The situation has changed drastically since the last Lok Sabha elections; however, there are many similarities in both situations for the BJP. In 1989, the number of BJP members in the Lok Sabha increased from 2 to 89. After this first big jump, it was important for the BJP to have some time to organize its big gain. The short-term

cooperation between the BJP and the Janata Dal government resulted from this. After getting 119 members in the Lok Sabha and forming a government in an important state like Uttar Pradesh, the BJP formed a policy of "warmth and understanding" with the Narasimha Rao government in order to maintain a balance. However, after resting a bit, the BJP felt the need to start the next endeavor. Therefore, they needed the leadership of Advani.

However, some important questions have arisen in this context. If the BJP believes that it will be able to establish a government at the Center after the next election, then has it formed the clear policy and goals that are necessary for a party in government? No party can establish a government in a country if it represents only one group of the society. If such a party gets into the government because of an instant emotional outpouring, then it cannot remain there for a long time. Mr. Advani has hinted about his future strategy after taking over the presidency from Murli Manohar Joshi. The definition he presented of Hinduism is not very different than the one supported by old Congress nationalist leaders like Gandhi, Tilak, and Patel. According to him, Hinduism does not believe in a religious government, and its main element in government is secularism. For it, Advani promises a nonviolent government. More important than this is to have the Janata Dal agree with him about social justice and the new concept of Hinduism. Therefore, it is important for the BJP to reject "Manu Smriti" as the only and ultimate religious book of the Hindus. According to Advani, policies and beliefs change, and it has been our tradition to reform as we go on. Now the latest code of conduct is the one fought for by Ambedkar. The BJP has made considerable progress among the lower castes during the last four years. Therefore, this practical definition was important for the party in the context of the social system. But will the BJP be able to get the support of the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] and the holy men? If this does not happen, then will the party be able to risk the defections of those groups? Advani will have to find answers to these questions. In other words, the BJP has to win the battle about a new social system in its own family.

Tension Remains Over Ayodhya Holy Site's Future

Shankaracharya's Stand

93AS0977A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 29 Jun 93
pp 1, 10

[Article: "Finally Shankaracharyas Took Initiative"]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 June. Finally, the Shankaracharyas have taken the initiative in the Ayodhya issue. They have neglected it for several years. The Shankaracharyas are a tradition that is considered the best in Hindu society. Therefore, they are still respected highly. However, in the meeting in Shringeri, there was a problem. By not inviting Swami Vasudevanand, Shankaracharya

of Joshi Math, the organizers left room for accusation of government interference in the meeting.

The accomplishment of the Shringeri meeting was that four Shankaracharyas participated in it. These four issued a statement about four pages long. This statement was loaded with feelings about humanity, the Hindu religion, and the current problems in the country. These acharyas [religious teachers] were trying to look for sources for unity. They have decided in this effort to ignore points of disagreement. These acharyas have many disagreements about Adishankara [original Shankara]. The statement said that they would not discuss various disputes, and that they have advised their disciples to follow suit. In this mood, the gurus have declared they will raise the flag of Sanatana Dharma (Hinduism). Sanatana Dharma has always been all-encompassing. The Shankaracharyas have made this the basis of their statement when making decisions about future plans.

The acharyas repeated that the paths followed by various religions are the ones shown by Sanatan Dharam. What is religion? The answer to this can be found in the statements issued by the acharyas. They say that religion is the cause of happiness and prosperity. One can understand the meaning embedded in this statement. This means that if you are not prosperous, then the influence of religion is obviously decreasing, and sin is on the rise. The rulers of this country all expected to follow the ethical path. They will not interfere with religion. On the other hand, the people are expected to stay away from religious strife.

The four Shankaracharyas presented an example in Shringeri. However, it will not remain a secret for long that Swami Vasudevanand, the Shankaracharya of Joshi Math, was not invited there, due to government pressure. Swami Jayendar Saraswati wanted to invite him to this meeting. Before this meeting of the acharyas, he was on the telephone with major VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] leaders in Delhi. Swami Swarupanand did not want to invite the Shankaracharya of Joshi Math. He wanted to maintain the belief that he was the Shankaracharya of Dwarka and Jyotir Pith (Joshi Math, Badri Kashram). This is not true. His claim on Joshi Math was rejected by the Supreme Court many years ago. His control over Dwarka Pith is also being questioned. There are many litigations against the property. The government has taken advantage of his weakness in this area. These people, who carry the flag of all-encompassing religion, should show the courage of staying above such pressures. Without it, their ethical control will not be effective.

Former President Ramaswami Venkataraman and former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court E.M. Venkatramiyya were responsible for bringing these acharyas together on one platform. Only one of them could come to Shringeri. Ramaswami Venkataraman could not attend for some reason. Because of his many years of effort, the Shankaracharya of Kanchi Kamkoti was recognized in

Shringeri. This is an important development. The original Shankara formed four piths [religious organizations] in order to reawaken the Sanatana Dharma. The Joshi Math was the first and the classic pith among them. The Adishankar divided the country among these piths. The Jyoti Pith region includes the northern states of Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, and Jammu-Kashmir. Shringeri is the southern pith. Dwarka is in the west. The east is controlled by Puri. The fifth pith is in Kanchi, which has been respected for its service and religious efforts. Thus, in the Shringeri meeting, the pith whose regional problem they had gathered to resolve was not represented.

It is often preached that the Ayodhya issue should be kept outside politics. The advice was followed again this time. How can this advice be made trustworthy? The Som Yajna in Ayodhya was actually arranged by the government. Chandraswami and others were just pawns. They were more careful in Shringeri; however, one Shankaracharya was provided a helicopter to come from Bangalore. Although it was a personal helicopter, it nonetheless was arranged with the government's help. The Shankaracharyas were in a dilemma before issuing statements at the Shringeri meeting. They were wondering whether they would be accused of dividing the Hindu society, because the Vishwa Hindu Parishad was leading the Ayodhya campaign.

It has the active support of these sants; this has been proved again and again. Swami Nischalanand, Shankaracharya of Puri, raised this question. He opposed the idea of establishing a trust on this basis.

Swami Jayendra Saraswati gave assurances that he would talk with the VHP. He said this with authority and assurance. He is considered the top shankaracharya. He can be called a religious person in a real sense. He is considered to have control over the VHP. Before the meeting, he continued to hold discussions with authority. But the result of the meeting was contrary to his advice. Jayendra Saraswati was impressed that after many years, Shringeri gave recognition to Kanchi because of the "interference" of the government and some specific individuals.

Acharaya Giriraj Kishore, the VHP leader, said about the meeting, "The government wants to pass time. It wants to open a new front, because it has been beaten at every other front. When the truth is revealed, the shankaracharyas will not be trapped by the government." He was asked how the government had succeeded in this effort. He believes that the government gave the wrong information to the shankaracharyas, and that it had been successful this time. Vinay Katiar, leader of the Bajrang Dal, said that the government was misleading the shankaracharyas. "When the shankaracharyas learn about the special law (the Arjun law of 1993, imposed on Ayodhya) and its special articles, then they will know that the government was deceiving them. They should know that without dismissing this law, the government cannot give

this site to any trust to build a temple." According to Mr. Katiar, all Hindu groups are represented in the Ramjanambhoomi Trust.

This reaction by the VHP leaders is based on good reasons. This law was implemented on 7 January 1993. The government confiscated land in Ayodhya under this law. On one side, the 7 January 1993 situation must be maintained under this law. At the same time, this law states that the government will build Rama's temple and a mosque there. In Section 3, Article 2 of this law is a provision requiring that the status quo of 7 January 1993 be kept. The date for implementing this law is not clear. This was left open to interpretation and to make way for lawsuits to begin. The government asked the advice of the Supreme Court under the Constitution's Article 143 about the disputed site. The government is committed to accepting that advice. It can make a new law with the advice of the Supreme Court. It cannot hand over the Ayodhya site to a trust before that.

The shankaracharyas have requested that the confiscated site be handed over for construction of a Rama's Temple to a trust that is above politics. No one can disagree with their statement, but there are vested political interests here. Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao is looking for a way to take credit for building the temple in Ayodhya. Against this background, all of these statements merely throw light on the political process.

More Agitation Possible

93AS0977B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 26 Jun 93 pp 1, 7

[Article by Rajendra Soni: "Major Agitation Possible if Janambhoomi Site Not Surrendered"]

[Text] Haridwar, 25 June—The executive committee of the Ram Janambhoomi Construction Committee passed a resolution today stating that if the Rama's Temple in Ayodhya is not started on the site by 24 October (Vijayadashmi Day), then Hindus worldwide, including those in India, would be sent a message to start a powerful campaign. The sants in the meeting said that if the government does not assure that temple construction would begin by 24 October, then kar sevaks in the hundreds of thousands will start for Ayodhya. All major sants said in one voice that the people want to know what is being done after the 6 December incident here. They said that they were responsible to the people, and that they must fulfill their duty of having Rama's temple built here.

Six months after the destruction of the disputed structure, the sadhus supported by the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] gathered here today on the stage of the Ram Janambhoomi Foundation. The 2,500-square foot hall on the first floor of Agarsen Ashram was filled with sadhus in saffron-colored robes. The hall echoed with cheers and religious slogans when Ayodhya's Paramahansa Ramchandar Das, Gopaldas, Dr. Ramvilas Das Vedanti, and Babar Dharam Das arrived there. The sadhus and sants gathered here were very enthusiastic.

The sants said in their exciting speeches that on Vijaydashmi, Narasimha Rao will also be killed, just like Ravana.

Mr. Ashok Singhal, general secretary of the VHP; Lok Sabha member Vinaya Katiar, the national organizer of the Bajrang Dal; Acharaya Ramnath Suman; Prushottam Narayan Singh; and Omkar Bhawe, as well as many important VHP office holders, arrived in Ayodhya yesterday. The whole organization of this meeting was taken over by the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] workers. The sants will reside at Pramarth Ashram, Varida Ashram, Nishkam Ashram, Brahma Niwas Ashram, and Chitarkut Akhand Ashram. The Agarsen Maharaja Ashram will be the main center of all activity. The leaders of the VHP, Bajrang Dal, and the RSS looked very happy today. Attendance by the 13 members of the Akhada Parishad, other important people, and Shankar Bharati, the president of the Parishad, indicates that the Akhada Parishad is fully supportive of this effort. The meeting was attended by Gangapuri of Anand Akhada, Narendra Giri Karanpuri of Nuna Akhada, Gopaldas of Udaseen Akhada, Nazar Singh of Nirmal Akhada, Shankar Bharati of Niranjani Akhada, Govind Brahmachari of Agni Akhada, Pramhans Ramchandar Das of Digambar Adkade, Jhuma Das of Bada Adhada, Giridhar Naryan Puri of Mahanirvan Panchayati Akhada, Madan Giri of Ahvan Akhada, Mahant Sanatan Bharati of Atal Akhada, Dharamdas of Mahanirvan Akhada, and Mahant Bhagwan Das and Avadh Das of Nirmohi Akhada. They all participated as representatives to the Nayas Manch [construction front].

Swami Purnanad, the acharaya of Niranjan Pithadishwar, presided over the meeting of the committee today. About 20 of the 25 members of the Central Marg Darshak Mandal, which is associated with the Nyas Manch, were present there. The success of today's meeting indicates that the "Break Up The Sants" campaign, started by Chandra Swami and Jagat Guru Shankaracharya Swami Sarupanand at the calling of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, will not be successful. "Not one religious guru can be broken away by greed for money. It is clear that it is impossible to make a pro-government group here." Prominent among the people who attended the meeting were: Jagadguru Swami Vasudevanand, Jagadguru Ramanand Acharya, Ram Bhadaracharya, Jagadguru Swami Prushittamacharya, Legislator Mahant Avaidhnath, Swami Vamdev Maharaj, Acharya Dharmender, and Mahamandleshwar Santoshi Mata. Santoshi Mata in her speech discussed the failure of Somyajna for a long time.

Swami Vamdev, president of the Ramjanambhoomi Reconstruction Committee, and Lok Sabha member Avaidhnath, president of the Yajna committee, talked to reporters at 1600 and said that during the next election, they would pit their full strength in establishing the BJP government at the Center. They said with full confidence that the Narasimha Rao government would not be able to finish its five-year term. Swami Vamdev said, "the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh had given 54 acres of

land to the Ramjanambhoomi committee. The Central Government took that land back. If, by Vijyadashmi or by 24 October, the whole area for building the Rama's temple is not returned to us, then we will declare war. The kar sevaks will gather in Ayodhya to build the temple, because the people are waiting to see what steps we will take after 6 December." The VHP sants started their meeting today to strategize. This meeting will continue to 2 July. After holding various meetings in Haridwar until 28 June, they will hold secret meetings from 29 June to 2 July in Delhi.

Additional Movements Possible

93AS0977C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 26 Jun 93 pp 1, 7

[Article by Amitabh Agnihotri: "Government Assures Shankaracharya Temple Will Be Built if They Leave Kashi, Mathura Alone"]

[Text] New Delhi, 24 June—The Central Government has hinted to the shankaracharyas that if they give assurances that they will not make any claims on Kashi and Mathura in the future, they will be able to use all of their influence at the sacred site in Ayodhya. Thus, the government has made full arrangements to push the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] out of the whole process of rebuilding the temple.

This plan of taking all the steam out of the VHP's campaign was masterminded by Vityacharan Shukla, central minister of labor; his brother, Shyamacharan Shukla; Naresh Chandra, head of the Ayodhya cell of the prime minister's office; K.C. Lenka; and P.R. Kumar-mangalam. The prime minister himself has used some of his personal contacts to pit the shankaracharya campaign against the VHP. Former President Venkataraman was also active in this campaign. He was especially responsible for talking to shankaracharyas in Shringeri, particularly the shankaracharyas of Kanchi and Shringeri. According to our sources, the government is presently focusing on establishing a national temple building organization that does not include the VHP. At this time, it wants to be involved in the technical aspects of building a temple or mosque. According to our sources, the government plans to implement its strategy in stages. They are making arrangements to start action against the VHP in a meeting to be held on 27 June in Shringeri, under the leadership of Swarupanand, shankaracharya of Dwarka Pith, and Kanchi's Jayendra Saraswati. The prime minister is also working continuously to establish contact with the Haridwar Akhada Parishad to work against the VHP. They have announced that they will boycott the Ramjanambhoomi Nayas organization at their meeting in Haridwar. The Akhada Parishad, which was working closely with Ashoka Singhal until yesterday, has announced a boycott of the VHP, which should be considered a major victory for the government.

Soon after the volley of accusations levied by Harshad Mehta, the prime minister hinted about his strategy in

the 18 June Congress Parliamentary Committee meeting. He said that a decision on the temple had already been made. At the same time, even at that difficult time, he said with full confidence that when the time of tests in the Hindi-speaking states comes, then the Congress party would show its miracles. He was hinting about the four states where Vidhan Sabha elections are to be held. The strategy that was being formed behind his self-confidence also includes arrangements for taking over the Rama temple construction issue from the RSS family.

How far this strategy of the Congress Party will succeed can only be told by the future. However, we have to admit that the prime minister, after being beaten in the temple chess game repeatedly, has taken a decisive step. His goal could be putting the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] in a difficult position and winning the Vidhan Sabha election in the four states.

One religious guru who had opposed the VHP all his life told this correspondent that it appears that the prime minister wants to have the temple built and to have it done quickly. We asked him if he had had any discussions with the prime minister about this. In response to this question, he said that he had not spoken with the prime minister recently; however, his messengers do give the indication that if they agree to leave Kashi and Mathura out, they can be successful. This religious guru is in continuous contact with top government officials.

The prime minister formed this plan after a lot of thought. Until now, the people he had contacted to push out the VHP were so weak that they could not help the government even though they wanted to. The big names, like Chandraswami, that he brought forward did not have a clean enough image to be effective. After the Som Yajna plan failed, the government started to work on this new strategy. Afterwards, they brought into confidence the shankaracharyas of five major Hindu religious piths [holy sites]—Puri, Dwarka, Shringeri, Jyotish Pith, and Kanchi. It was not easy for the VHP to challenge the Akhada Parishad of Haridwar and the shankaracharya's position and dominance. The Akhada Parishad is also a strong organization with its own sphere of influence. The VHP cannot openly condemn it. On the other hand, any group endorsed by the shankaracharyas will have credibility.

After seeing these new efforts by the government, the VHP has become very vigilant. Prominent sants like Mahant Avidhnath have gone to Haridwar. In a meeting on the 25th and 26th, these sants will try to plan a strategy to deal with the new situation.

Meanwhile, Shankaracharya Divyanand Tirath, head of the Bhainpura Pith, the main VHP opponent and the one who played a major role in Chandraswami's Som Yajna, announced that the task of building the temple should be given to the oldest organization of sadhus, the

Akhada Parishad. He argued that at a time when organizations like the VHP did not even exist, the Akhada Parishad was the most respected organization of sadhus.

However, the government's strategy is on one side, and the related technical and other problems are on the other. Just pushing the VHP out will not pave the way for the government on the temple issue. At this time, there are many question marks there. The suspended case in the Supreme Court also must be kept in mind. At the same time, the Muslim demand for a mosque is gaining momentum.

Television Producer Interviewed on Medium's Impact

93AS0976A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 1 Jul 93 p 4

[Interview with Parvataneni Upendra by K. Vaidnathan of NEWScribe; place and date not given]

[Text] Mr. Parvataneni Upendra, who was born on 14 July 1936, appears to be quiet, stable, and humble on the outside; however, because of his association with a winning political party every time, he is considered unique from every perspective. During the National Front government, he was the Minister of Information, Communication, and Parliamentary Affairs, and cooperated with the Janata Party. Those days of 1983, when he accused the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] during the Himayat Nagar bye-elections of defeating him by using deceptive means are like a dream now. After getting a post-graduate degree in English literature, Mr. Upendra accepted a position with the MAIL to support his family. He later started working for the government. 1971 is believed to be a very decisive year in Mr. Upendra's career. This was the year when the Janata Party's then-Railway Minister Madhu Dandawate appointed him his special assistant. When N.T. Ramarao established the Telugu Desam Party, Upendra was appointed its general secretary. In 1984, he was elected to the Rajah Sabha.

It is no secret that Mr. Upendra played a very important role in bringing the opposition party under the National Front's flag. He also gave a lot of help to N.T. Ramarao and the Telugu Desam Party, in addition to providing extensive support to Ramarao. When the National Front took over the central government, it was a foregone conclusion that he would receive a cabinet position. When he was appointed Minister of Information and Broadcasting, he left his imprint as a successful administrator.

When, in March 1991, Mr. N.T. Ramarao dismissed him along with six other party members ceremoniously from the Telugu Desam Party, political experts already labeled him an "depleted political force." But the hopes of these experts proved to be wrong. This expulsion was a blessing in disguise for Mr. Upendra. The practical side in him advised him to go with the BJP, because it was a party that had started to make a place for itself, even in the south.

Mr. K. Vaidnathan of the NEWScribe interviewed Mr. Upendra and discussed some of interesting items since the latter joined the BJP. He also expressed his opinions of the electronic media during the interview. Some important parts of this interview are included below.

[Vaidnathan] You have joined the so-called non-Congress powers. What was the reason for you deciding to go with the BJP?

[Upendra] I have been a liberal and a secular from my early childhood. I have not changed my philosophy since that time. Therefore, my decision to join the BJP is totally influenced by political reasons. There is no contribution of religion or emotion in it. I felt that when the nation was facing various problems in the present situation and anti-national powers were active, there was a special need for a powerful government at the Center. The BJP is a party with a leadership that has a clear philosophy, and it is nationalist, patriotic, and of a clean image. It is also a party with a well-defined philosophy and policies. It also has very disciplined workers. I felt that such a party was the only one that could control and deal with such a situation.

[Vaidnathan] Do you believe that an alternative to the Congress (I) is the BJP, instead of being some non-Congress secular parties?

[Upendra] A polarization has emerged at the national level, and there will only be two important parties in the future. These parties will be Congress (I) and the Bharatiya Janata Party. During my whole political career, I have been in the anti-Congress camp. I am one of the people who worked actively to unite the non-Congress powers. Therefore, the question of my joining the Congress (I) does not arise. I have no other option but to join the major non-Congress party, which is the Bharatiya Janata Party.

[Vaidnathan] When you say that your support for the BJP is purely on a political level, do you mean that you do not support this party on the temple issue?

[Upendra] I have not yet joined the BJP. I have just expressed my willingness to cooperate with and support this party. Therefore, I do not have to change my opinion about various issues. As for the question of Ayodhya, I condemned the destruction of the disputed structure, just as other BJP leaders had expressed regret over the incident. It should not have happened. If you ask me today, however, what to do about the temple-mosque issue after the disputed structure was destroyed, then I would advise that Rama's Temple be built there.

[Vaidnathan] It is a fact that the disputed structure was destroyed by Lumpen's anti-social elements. What is the use of asking that it be rebuilt?

[Upendra] When the disputed structure was torn down, there were some emotional reasons behind it. The structure does not exist now. Therefore, insisting that a mosque be built there is totally inappropriate. Also, since

1949, the mosque was not used for worship. However, when another mosque is built, then worship will be conducted regularly.

[Vaidnathan] In your opinion, what are the reasons for the increase in communalism in this country?

[Upendra] The Hindus can never be communalists, and Hinduism is the most tolerant religion in the world. This country belongs to everyone, and it is a country of people from all religions and faiths. However, since independence, the government has deliberately been dividing the people into majority and minority groups. They gave Muslims the feeling that they belonged to a different group. The Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, and Jains are also minorities; however, they have joined the mainstream. Because the Muslims form a huge vote bank, they are repeatedly appeased. They have become a separate group because of this policy. These pseudo-secular parties have vested interests to keep Muslims below the poverty line in order to exploit their votes. Therefore, it is clear that the political leadership's failure to bring Muslims into the national mainstream contributed to the increasing communalism in this country.

[Vaidnathan] There has been a powerful polarization between the Congress (I) and Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh. Where does the BJP stand in this situation?

[Upendra] I have to admit that the BJP is not very strong in Andhra Pradesh. We are number three there, which means we are behind the Congress (I) and Telugu Desam. There is anti-Congress sentiment in that state, and the Telugu Desam is trying to take advantage of it. However, when the Telugu Desam was dethroned in 1989, its organization at the local level were totally destroyed. Therefore, I do not expect the Telugu Desam to emerge just by depending on anti-Congress feelings alone. This party cannot return to government on this basis alone. Therefore, there are hopes for the rise of a third power in Andhra Pradesh. By the next election, the challenge of selecting between two parties will end.

[Vaidnathan] What is the major hurdle in the path of our progress?

[Upendra] We have spent billions of rupees in seven five-year plans and on the so-called developmental projects. However, except for services to some groups, the people have not benefitted from these programs. Where did all this money go? Obviously, it was devoured by corrupt leaders, bureaucrats, and contractors.

[Vaidnathan] Do you want to say that there is an unholy alliance among the political leaders, bureaucrats, and industrialists?

[Upendra] This is true. Without any doubt, it is clear that these three groups have devoured the gains that were aimed at helping the people.

[Vaidnathan] Will this problem be solved with the policy of economic liberalization and the industrialization of our country? All steps taken under the liberalization

policy seem to be helping exporters, importers, and major industrialists. You have played an important role in getting the Prasar Bharati law passed in Parliament. However, the electronic media have not become very important.

[Upendra] I succeeded in getting the Prasar Bharati law passed unanimously. This commission should have been established by 31 March 1991; however, our government fell before that. The governments that followed did not show any special interest in implementing it. I have no hope from the present government; however, the BJP is committed to supporting the Prasar Bharati.

[Vaidnathan] Can the Prasar Bharati Act combat the invasion by the satellites of the CNN, Star TV, and the BBC?

[Upendra] These are two different things. The talk about competition with satellites is useless. Seventy percent of our population lives in rural areas, where people with their own TV sets are few and far between. They go to a public place to see TV programs, and the whole village sleeps by 2100.

[Vaidnathan] What do you suggest should be done to put new life into TV programs?

[Upendra] To have so many television channels for live programs is silly. Fears about foreign competition are imaginary fears. Foreign TV is not the subject of our competition. We must make our own programs interesting.

Rajasthan Muslims Said Favoring BJP

93AS0975B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 2 Jul 93 pp 1,7

[Article: "Muslims Leaning Towards BJP"]

[Text] Jaipur, 1 July—We have learned through reliable sources that there is a possibility that during the Vidhan Sabha elections this year, 3.5 million Muslims in Rajasthan will vote for the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party].

These sources within the Home Ministry said, on assurance that their identification would not be revealed, that the state's intelligence unit has sent a report to Delhi recently. It mentioned in its report that it would not be surprising if the Muslims in Rajasthan promised to support the BJP.

Even though Indian observers consider this a baseless rumor and have refused to give it much thought, the state police have accepted the fact that the Muslim community has given very serious consideration to supporting the BJP. The political sources said in support of their belief that Muslims here are checking the facts about how this will benefit them. They wonder whether they should shake hands with their well-known enemy, the BJP, or stay with an opportunist friend like the Congress Party.

The sources revealed that it has been decided that during all of the elections held in the last few decades, the Congress used the Muslims for its vote bank and never gave them any more importance. It never tried to improve or stabilize their position from a social and economic perspectives. A former Muslim legislator agreed with this fact and said that it is true that the majority of Muslims in Rajasthan, especially in Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Badmer, Vampur, and Jaipur, are still living in pitiable conditions.

One well-respected Muslim leader in the state said that it is being openly admitted that the Muslims are unhappy about Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's failure on the Ayodhya front. Mr. Rao said in a 15 August speech at the Red Fort that the mosque would be protected at any cost. He did not succeed in fulfilling this promise. These sources mentioned the increasing proclivity of Muslims toward the BJP, and said that Muslim national leader Ali Mian's demand for Mr. Rao's resignation soon after the Ayodhya incident and RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] General Secretary Rajju Bhairya's statement that all Muslims are not bad are not without reason or without basis. In addition, the slogans written on the walls indicate that the BJP and the RSS have succeeded in winning the hearts of Muslims.

It appears to be a general consensus that what the BJP can do for Muslims if elected to the Center could not be done by Congress leaders. The Congress leaders have never done and never will be able to do because of this policy of appeasement.

Mentioning the new generation of Muslims, the sources said that the younger generations of Muslims in Rajasthan have decided not to accept the fatwas [religious decrees] given by the imams. It has proved now that the younger generation in the state wants to give the BJP a chance.

It is believed that the BJP units in the state are making special efforts to get Muslim support. There are not clear indications about this. However, the fact that former Rajasthan Chief Minister Bhairon Singh Shekhawat addressed over 1,000 people in a meeting is living proof of this change.

At this time, there is a lot of talk about various estimates and possibilities about the upcoming elections in the state, and the Muslims have divided into two factions. One faction wants to stay with the old friend, while the other argues that it is better to follow the rising star rather than the setting sun.

Reasons Behind BJP Push for Mid-Term Elections Viewed

93AS0976B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 3 Jul 93 p 11

[Article: "Why Is BJP Pressuring to Dismiss the Lok Sabha?"]

[Text] Harshad Mehta has accused Prime Minister Narasimha Rao of taking ten million rupees from him. The prime minister has said that the statements issued by the chief accused in the securities scandal is a pack of lies. In the second phase of his accusation, Harshad Mehta said that he had met Rameshwar Thakur, a junior member of Narasimha Rao's cabinet, that day. Thakur said in response that there was no such meeting; however, there have been proofs in some documents which show that Harshad's claim about this meeting was correct, and that Rameshwar Thakur was wrong.

In the third phase, Harshad presented a recording of television conversations with Sunil Mittal. Sunil Mittal responded, "I do not speak like that." Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and the Congress (I) party have only said no so far, and have not challenged Harshad to present proof on the stand in the court witness box in order to make the chief suspect in the securities scandal become agitated.

All in all, there is hot discussion of this issue everywhere. No one can say definitely where this affair will end or who its final victim will be. It is also difficult to say who will come out clean and spotless after being involved in this ugly war. Will anyone be able to come out without a mark?

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] came ahead of everyone and demanded the resignation of Narasimha Rao's government. It is not only asking for its resignation, but also that the Lok Sabha be dismissed and new elections be held now. Now let us think: Why are the BJP people demanding dismissal of the Lok Sabha now? This is a very interesting and perplexing question. The investigation committee appointed by the present Lok Sabha is arriving at a very important point in its investigation of the securities scandal. The accomplishments of the joint parliamentary commission have been very satisfactory until now. If the Lok Sabha is dismissed now, then the investigation committee appointed by it will also be dismissed, and the whole investigation of the securities scandal would be left where it is now. Are the BJP leaders so ignorant that they do not even understand this simple fact? If they really hate corruption, then why are they demanding the dismissal of the Lok Sabha? Is it possible that the BJP leaders are also scared by the investigation of the securities scandal and are trying to get the Lok Sabha dismissed, in order to stop the investigation, by using the Harshad Mehta scandal as an excuse?

There is a common experience in public life—that corruption and communalism are siblings. They help one another in times of trouble. If we look at recent incidents, we note that whenever there was a scandal, action on the Ram Janambhumi fiasco was accelerated. Starting the Bofors scandal and ending with the securities scandal. The communalists, in order to divert the attention of the people from corrupt actions at the top, called their attention to bow down at the holy feet of

Rama. In return, the top-level government let the communalists do whatever they wanted to on 6 December in Ayodhya.

At this time, when the work of the joint parliamentary commission is arriving at the point of separating black from white, the BJP is demanding that the Lok Sabha be dismissed, and they have started to talk about building Rama's Temple in October through their religious leaders. They are demanding that the government return the land confiscated in Ayodhya to sadhus and holy men and that the political parties remain silent over the issue of temple construction. Top government officials are also enjoying this. A few weeks ago, the government in New Delhi had a Swami Namdhari start the celebration of Somyajna in Ayodhya.

The BJP's pretense against corruption is shown above, and we will see even more interesting situations develop later. On 16 June, when Harshad Mehta announced giving ten million rupees to the prime minister, the BJP was overjoyed. Its leaders did not give even one minute to Narasimha Rao to present his side. The meeting of the party's national committee was going to be held in Bangalore or was being held. The newly elected president, Lal Krishna Advani, changed his pre-planned speech. As soon as he stood up, he started to say that there was no doubt that the Narasimha Rao government was corrupt from top to bottom. When Atal Behari Vajpayee's turn came to speak, he said, "The BJP is determined to establish standards of morals in the country. Now our party will not accept any donations in cash. It will only accept checks or drafts. My party will not compromise with corrupt people or corrupt actions. Narasimha Rao's government is corrupt. It must be removed. The Parliament must also be removed." (In other words, the joint parliamentary commission must also be dismissed.)

Meanwhile, the Congress (I) working committee tried to blame the BJP in the whole affair in order to protect Narasimha Rao. It said that the BJP had encouraged Harshad Mehta to stage this play. In other words, the Congress (I) wanted to say that the BJP, in order to rock the Central Government and cause riots nationwide, is becoming friendly with Harshad Mehta. After making all this noise in the beginning, the BJP suddenly became quiet. It is waiting for the right time. It is thinking about how much benefit it will have by using this affair, when to use it, and how long. In spite of its silence, however, the BJP does not appear to want to leave this affair alone. It does not want the people to become suspicious, and it does not want the Congress (I) to claim that the BJP and Harshad Mehta are tied together in this affair.

All political parties receive donations for their elections. This is common knowledge. The major parties receive huge amounts of contributions. In India's parliamentary history, there has never been a legislator elected who did not give a false account of election expenses to the Election Commission. Harshad says that he did not bribe Narasimha Rao; it was a contribution. This "common

contribution" was for running bye-elections in the Nanduyal constituency. Harshad has not yet given a sworn statement on this issue or stated that he has not helped anyone other than the prime minister in the election. He does not use Narasimha Rao's name. No one can ask of him why he took out 8.5 million rupees from the banks in the beginning of November.

This is not just a question of the prime minister's personal integrity; it is a question of our national honor and our government's credibility. If this investigation is not blocked, then the truth will be brought to light. We must get assurances about our country's honor, the government's credibility, and honesty in public life. It will not be surprising to find that the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) family jumps into the arena with Rama's statue in its arms whenever misappropriations are discovered at the top levels of our government. We will also learn why the BJP is demanding the dismissal of the Lok Sabha so that the joint legislative commission is also dismissed. Is it possible that the BJP leaders fear that this investigation will also expose their deeds?

Bengal Line Said Ready To Transform State's Politics

93AS1036A Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali 8 Jul 93
p 4

[Article by Pabitra Kumar Ghosh: "The Path of Bengal"]

[Text] The Bengal Line is now a focal-point of debate. The news of Bengal Line has reached from a small village to Capital Delhi and the picture of reaction has also clearly emerged. It can bring a new momentum to the politics of West Bengal.

The Bengal Line was presented in a seven page hand-written small document. It is said that the document contained the pledge of making a new Bengal in the new year of the Bengali era. As it was not possible to give details in the prescribed area of seven pages with big size hand-written letters, a gist of the main subject matter of the Bengal Line was distributed.

It was expected that the details of the document, signed by Mamata Banerjee, would be written as per the need of the movement. The document was not written with a routine academic concept and thus, any dispute emerging from the reactionary debates is irrelevant.

It might surprise many people that only constructive proposals were included in the introductory part of the document, and it has not the slightest touch of militancy. Mamata Banerjee has emerged here with a new identity. The source of her people's movement rests on a constructive resolution. She approached the people's forums with the thoughts and pledges of making a new Bengal and that is why the initial proposal related to the Bengal Line was presented on the birthday of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the first chief minister of West Bengal and a Congress Party leader.

On that day Jyoti Basu, current chief minister and Communist Party-Marxist leader, himself garlanded the statue of Dr. Roy. To show her reverence to the creator of new Bengal, Mamata Banerjee opted for the Bengal Line.

She said in her draft declaration: "The relevancy of the Bengal Line lies in our movement together with the people of Bengal for the purpose of creating a climate of development in West Bengal by keeping in front the objective of its economic development, and to return to West Bengal its robbed esteemed position in the social and economic map of India".

To make the people understand what Mamata Banerjee wants to do, she added nine points to its "introductory" section and those are:

1. Our pledge is to bring Bengal—lagging behind in all fields—to the main stream of progress.
2. Only creativity should be our task.
3. Let the tide of agriculture, industry, education and culture bring the dawn of a new awakening in Bengal.
4. The creation of an environment for jobs should be the objective of the new awakening.
5. Let self reliance be the inspirational motto of the new awakening.
6. Not waste, not mistrust, but the building up of the moral character should be the vibration of life to the youth of Bengal.
7. The positive advice of the economists and intellectuals of Bengal could lead Bengal to a new economic horizon. Thus, one of the main objectives of the Bengal Line would be to make a well-defined program—similar to the pattern of the planning commission—under their valuable guidance for the interest of the people of Bengal.
8. By holding discussions with distinguished people at all levels in Bengal, we have to build a creative economic, social, and cultural atmosphere on the soil of Bengal.
9. No compromise or surrender in the interest of Bengal, and on need sacrifice one's own life.

This resolve and proposals of Mamata Banerjee are also being criticized. Anger was raised at the call given for joining the joy of creation. Somen Mitra, the president of the West Bengal State Congress Party, has himself released an arrow of venomous criticism. Smithy policy is to strike when the iron is hot. Following that same policy Somen did not allow to lapse even seven days after the declaration of the Bengal Line. On 6 July he clearly made known his final verdict.

Somen Mitra, who is carrying on the important responsibility of the Congress, said at the Congress office while sitting on the chair of the president: "There is nothing in the Congress that is called the Bengal Line. In the Congress structuralism nothing has been said separately

for any state, therefore, it is not possible to talk about one line for one state by remaining inside the Congress Party."

We see two parts in Somen's statement—one, in the Congress structuralism there is nothing separate about any state; and two, one cannot talk about a special line for a state by remaining inside the Congress Party. The significance of this statement is that Mamata Banerjee's Bengal Line is against Congress structuralism. She has committed a punishable offense by overtly speaking about that line.

But the threat of punishing Mamata Banerjee is as much empty as comical. Realizing it, the journalists are continuously taunting the important leaders of all-India and state Congress parties with the objective of having some fun. The reporters swarmed V.N. Gadgil, the spokesman of the AICC [All-India Congress Committee], who is also a frank person. He said on 2 July that the high command is not thinking of taking any punitive steps against Mamata Banerjee. The high command also has no objection on the Bengal Line issue. But if Mamata sets up a parallel organization in the sphere of trade union and other fields, then the AICC will not approve it. The significance of this statement is that if Mamata sets up a separate organization for any purpose, then that will not get the high command's recognition, because that will be a non-Congress organization.

But for the welfare of the nation the Congress leaders could form a non-Congress institution; they could also involve themselves with a non-Congress organization. The condition of becoming a member of the Congress Party is neither to put iron shackles on the legs nor to wear golden chains on the neck. Any Congress member or leader can take part in literary discussions, social work, and political movements without opposing the Congress ideals and interests.

But it has been noticed in the history of the Congress Party that when the high command becomes unhappy, uncorrupt patriots also receive stringent punishment. It forced Subash Chandra Bose [famous Indian freedom fighter] to relinquish the position of the Congress president. Not being satisfied with it, the high command even expelled this greatest fighter from the Congress Party.

Did Subash Chandra oppose the declared principles of the Congress Party, such as the attainment of total independence, or the Congress interests? Until now no one has made such an allegation. To meet the demands of the time, he just wanted Mahatma Gandhi's policies and programs to have links with other policies and programs. He did not oppose Gandhi's untouchable movement, spinning with the wheel, Noi Tamil [new system of education introduced by Mahatma Gandhi], satyagrah [passive resistance], disobedience movement, and so forth. Subash Chandra was an enthusiastic supporter of making Hindusthani the national language of India, and he was absolutely free from regional or communal feelings. Subash Chandra remained in the

forefront of all Congress movements into the fiery belt of hatred toward royalty, but still he was expelled from the Congress Party after being humiliated, insulted, and maligned disgracefully. It was done for only one reason—he challenged the weakness and partiality of the high command—and for that he earned their displeasure. But only after five or six years, Nehru and Patel hailed Subash and his Azad [Hind] Fauj militant unit fought for India's independence. Gandhi remained looking until his death toward the road with wistful eyes for Subash's return home.

It should be admitted that the Congress high command—whatever it might have done, right or wrong, at that time—was powerful and great in the eyes of all people. But the high command, which has been constituted with leaders headed by Narasimha Rao, is impotent and lacks prestige. At present that high command is existing only in name; in reality, it is dead. This so-called high command will not have the guts to punish Mamata Banerjee. Narasimha Rao could not even think of antagonizing Mamata.

This helpless condition of the Congress high command was manifested in Gadgil's statement. He told the journalists again on 6 July: "Mamata has adopted the Bengal Line, that is her personal choice. The AICC is not thinking of approving this line, but also not asking to discard it." Indulging in fun, the journalists reminded Gadgil that at the Chunchura meeting Mamata said that she cares not a fig for the high command. Even after hearing such a tragic thing Gadgil remained cool like ice, no befitting reply came out from his lips.

The high command did not come forward to blockade Mamata. Therefore, the responsibility to put a check on the Mamata-flood has been vested on the shoulders of Somen-Subrata [leaders of the other two factions in the West Bengal Congress Party]. They are seeking protection from Jyoti Basu for fear of being swept away like a lost straw.

But what will be the gain from it [collaboration with Jyoti Basu]? Pronab Mukherjee has flattered Jyoti Basu, with no qualm of being ashamed, continuously for two years for the purpose of pulling himself through the Rajya Sabha election. But what has happened to the time for action? The expected support did not come from the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] office and by exploiting the situation the CPI-M has betrayed Pronab. If Pronab wants to be a member of the Rajya Sabha, then he has to give up cajoling Jyoti Basu and beg Mamata Banerjee for favors. At this fag end also Joynal Abedeen is appearing personally before Jyoti Basu with an appeal to get support for the federal commerce minister. Joynal is the opposition leader in the state legislative assembly and he is said to be one of the fighters against the Left Front government having self-dedication. This is the outcome of that man!

As the anti-Mamata camp in the Congress Party is composed of such fake heroes, Somen Mitra—the principal leader of that camp—often becomes confused. He committed initial mistakes in his attempt to frustrate Mamata Banerjee this time. His 6 July statement contains two mistakes—one with the policy and another, legal.

Let me first talk about the legal mistake. What is there in the Congress structuralism that prevents discussion on the making of a new Bengal? Is this structuralism against the hopes, aspirations and interests of Bengal? There was also a Congress Party before Somen took charge of bringing glamor and glory to the position of the president of the state Congress. However, at that time the Congress was not as powerless, disgraced, or shattered, but still full of fun as under Somen's leadership. But no one has forgotten about the grand days of the state Congress Party functioning under the direction of that grave and imposing person like Atullya Ghosh. Even after so many days nobody could forget about Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy's period.

Bidham Roy used to talk about the making of a new and golden Bengal. Why did not Atullya Ghosh at that time put his hand on Dr. Roy's mouth with the excuse of Congress structuralism? Bidhan Chandra did not visit the state Congress office frequently, nor did he allow Atullya Ghosh to come too much closer to the Writer's Building [West Bengal government secretariat]. The Roy-Ghosh political relations were not altogether sweet. But did Atullya Ghosh create any impediment when Bidhan Roy was marching ahead on his own selected path for Bengal and the Bengalees? Or did he try to dissuade Dr. Roy with the bogey of structuralism of the All-India Congress Party?

AICC spokesman Gadgil did not say that Mamata Banerjee's Bengal Line is anti-structuralism of the Congress Party. When asked at the Dum Dum airport, Rajesh Pilot did not raise the issue of incoherence between the Congress structuralism and the Bengal Line. The high command is remaining silent. It is only the head-ache of Somen Mitra. He considers himself a prodigy of jurisprudence and, thus, immediately raised a legal objection.

Somen's other mistake is more serious. It is serious for his own political interest. He has criticized the constructive outlook, determination, and proposal of Mamata Banerjee and also rejected her call for the making of a new Bengal. What is he hoping to offer at that place? Is it only the squabbling, political conspiracy, or falling flat under the feet of Jyoti Basu? What more could he and Subrata Mukherjee offer? Have they acquired that mental strength to follow another principle?

The figure of the registered unemployed in West Bengal is six million. There are no jobs. West Bengal has become bankrupt in industry, education, finance, and character resources during the continuous 17-year rule of Jyoti Basu. In the universities, there is neither universe nor education. The rule of banners prevails there. To insult

the vice chancellor and to strip him along with women by putting him down on the floor have now become cultural events of the Calcutta University.

The excellence of Bengalees exists no more, their self-confidence has also vanished. Thus, the Bengali children are putting veils on their faces with the purpose of not seeing the world. While others are progressing, we are only falling behind. In this odd darkness only the owls could survive happily. But those who ardently wish for light become impatient with the great desire to listen to the hymns of awakening.

Relying on that desire Mamata Banerjee has come out on the streets. Her streets are the streets of Bengal. Those will take her to the open doors of the Bengal heart, to the broader life of the people, from hills to the seas.

Editorial Criticizes Clinton's 'Threats' To DPRK

BK2007103793 Calcutta ANANDABAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 14 Jul 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Grumbling of Clinton"]

[Text] People have come to realize that U.S. President Bill Clinton is not aware of diplomatic norms. In this regard, many interesting stories have been published in newspapers. In South Korea, it was noted that Clinton does not know how to address the wife of a president. During the official banquet hosted by President Kim in his honor, Clinton kept the interpreter, who was supposed to sit between him and the South Korean president, standing. The U.S. President did not realize that by doing so he insulted his host. While addressing the function, Clinton omitted many passages from the printed speech he read. He did not think that the Korean people would consider him discourteous for doing this. Besides, what should be said about the language used by the U.S. President in threatening the North Korean Government during his visit to the south. Perhaps Clinton forgot that although North Korea is small in size it is an independent and sovereign country. The head of state of the world's biggest power does not have the right to abuse the government of the world's poorest country in such a way. Is the U.S. President unaware, or has he intentionally forgotten?

It is known to all that Washington considers the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, NPT, as a very important international accord and emphasizes that other countries should also join it. Many countries, including China, are aware that to flatter the United States and secure benefits from it, it is wise to blindly sign the NPT. India will have to face numerous problems in different spheres as it is determined not to join the NPT. In the past when North Korea was close to South Korea and was thinking of leaning toward the Western camp, it did not raise any objections to becoming a signatory of the NPT. Perhaps North Korea thought that if it signed the NPT, the United States would withdraw its army and military installations from South Korea. But their calculations were wrong. North Korea objected to the inspection of

its atomic energy centers by the inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Apart from North Korea and Iraq, many countries have expressed the opinion that the United States is utilizing the United Nations for ruling the world according to its wishes. The countries of the world should either succumb to the wishes of the United States or suffer for defying it. At present the United States is the only superpower in the world and it does not consider any country as its rival. The former Soviet Union was the only rival of the United States after the world war, but that country has now crumbled and is now at the mercy of the United States. The United States should have learned some lessons from the fall of the Soviet Union and the White House should be aware of its responsibilities. But in reality the reverse has been the case. It is continuing efforts to exert pressure on all sides and make the world subservient to it. No one supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, nor does anyone believe that Iraq should become equipped with nuclear weapons. But does anyone support the treatment which is being given to Iraq? Many consider the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea as bad news. But the sort of threats from the U.S. President that he will crush North Korea is undesirable.

Intense Battle Foreseen For Dalit Vote

93AS1041A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
14, 15 Jul 93

[Article by Om Prakash: "An Intense Battle for the Dalit Vote"]

[14 Jul p 7]

[Text] New Delhi, 13 July—Seeing the plans in former BJP-ruled states for vidhan sabha elections and the shaky political situation at the Center, the struggle to get Dalit votes in the Hindi-speaking region has been accelerated. The real battleground is still Uttar Pradesh. Ram Vilas Paswan's Dalit Sena and Kanshiram's Bahujan Samaj Party are fighting one another. Their fight will soon move to Madhya Pradesh. Both parties are eager to get a decision, because Dalit votes in Hindi-speaking areas are totally out of the Congress vote bank.

This vote bank is getting the attention of the Congress and the BJP. The Congress is trying to improve its own slogan in order to cash in these votes. The BJP is repeating its promise to remove the Hindu caste system from Manu's jail. For the Dalit group, Ambedkar's name is much more important than the name of Gandhi. Just as the name "harijan" given by him has been swept under the rug, the word "Dalit" has emerged, shining with neon lights. This tendency also demonstrates the attitude of this group in politics. Even though this attitude is slowly changing, long range politics cannot be practiced on the arrogance of votes alone. Additionally, it cannot center on reactions alone. It is important to pay attention to the fact that all the parties that are fighting

to get these votes have also developed a political-social philosophy of their own for helping the group prosper.

The Congress Party does not have much at the national level to bid for this vote bank. Its former prime ministers have already made such attractive promises as writing off their bank loans. They have also taken political gains and losses from those promises. Except for the newspaper statement issued by the welfare minister, this party is in no position to explain why the reservation quotas for job promotion to Dalits have been eliminated. This situation has put the Congress Party in the accused's box. This is especially true about the Dalit vote bank, which has formed a virtually religious attitude. They are trying some "paper efforts" to get out of the box. On 8 June, the Congress Working Committee formed a 17-member committee under the chairmanship of General Secretary Shushil Kumar Shinde to monitor welfare programs for the Dalits. According to the new philosophy adopted by the committee, there is no non-Dalit. According to Mr. Shinde, this committee will work toward improving the status of Dalits in the political, social, and economic areas. Congress has also formed an 11-member core group to help with its election problems. It was formed at the Bhopal Working Committee meeting, and a ten-point plan was presented. Even though the plan has been on hold for further deliberation, the core group wants to focus on the program aimed at eradicating poverty. The need to expand the Nehru employment program and consolidated village development program have been felt. This group is having meetings. At the meeting held last Thursday, Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesri and Rural Development State Minister Rameshwar Thakur were especially invited. The plans will be carried out under the auspices of these two ministries. It was hinted that the plans already in progress would be combined and given a new name, and in this context, appropriation will be increased by one or two percent.

The Congress Party appointed a Dalit as vice president; however, it did not get any political benefits from this step. Instead, the Dalits got angry at the party for not making him the president. In order to satisfy the rural populace, it is trying to provide it with a Panchayat system law. The opposition was more eager than the Congress Party about making this law; however, it was passed during the present government's rule. This law allows reservations for women and Dalits in Panchayati rule. If the state desires, it can give reservations to the backward castes and tribes also. Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh have announced their decisions to give reserve quotas for the backward castes and tribes. Reservations of jobs have reached over 66 percent in these organizations. The Congress wants to benefit from passing this law, and has not hidden this desire. In fact, the Congress convention in Kathura was called for this purpose. The draft of Panchayati Raj plan, written during Rajiv Gandhi's time, tells its own story. The plan is not to enforce self-rule or self-government. They were worried that some regional parties were emerging, and that the Bahujan Samaj Party would steal the harijan

vote from the Congress Party. It is being said that only the legislative positions are available among various political positions. These cannot be made available to everyone. Therefore, political unrest is spreading. If political benefits are agreed upon at the lower level, then this dissatisfaction can be suppressed. They were planning to suppress the "desire groups" emerging in Delhi. Other political parties are also playing this game, openly or behind the scenes. In Bihar, Ramai Ram was declared shankaracharya in this vein. Meanwhile, the BJP followed suit and established a Dalit priest with a lot of pomp and show in a Hanuman temple in Patna.

[15 Jul p 11]

[Text] New Delhi, 15 July—In the battle for Dalit votes, the strategy is changing considerably. The burning and smoldering decades of the seventies and the eighties have been left behind. This society, which is becoming more homogenous, is suffering from fewer aches. Those pains that do remain are not as sharp as they were in the past. Many of them have been saved up for political benefit, and the Dalit leadership, as well as the Dalit society, knows about it. At times, some hesitation over it is also seen. One major reason for this could be that the unity of the Dalits has proven to be elusive. During the last decade, attacks on them were made mostly by other backward groups.

The greatest jolt from this change was felt by the Bahujan Samaj Party. The Buddhist society of India was also jolted. It had converted the Dalits to Buddhists in large numbers during the eighties in small towns in Uttar Pradesh. Mr. Parkash Ambedekar is associated with this society. Some cultural-religious campaigns were also started. All these waves, instead of focusing on social change, shifted their focus toward one point—getting their share of power in the government. The results affected both Dalit leadership and the Dalit society.

The combined result of this effect on both emerged quickly in Uttar Pradesh. Ram Vilas Paswan of the Dalit Sena came to speak on behalf of the Janata Dal recently, and none of the leaders were allowed to speak from the joint platform in Allahabad after Paswan came. Revati Raman Singh and Bhola Singh spoke at this platform. They both declared themselves members of the Dalit Sena. Paswan is placing himself in the larger political axle. Therefore, he is aiming to move everyone with him. However, this joining of forces depends on the unity of his own group. The whole organization of the Dalit Sena is suffering from this duplicity. Therefore, in contrast to the Bahujan Samaj Party's philosophy, the Dalit Sena believes that even within its ranks, there can be people who support the Brahmin thought. At the same time, there are high-caste people who oppose this system. The BSP has pushed this whole struggle into the framework of the caste system, and the Dalit Sena has tried to pull it into the philosophical sphere.

The Dalit Sena is working as the vanguard of the Janata Dal in Uttar Pradesh. Dalit meetings have been arranged

to welcome V. P. Singh's "justice tours." It is doing everything that the Janata Dal could not do because its being a political party. The Dalit Sena says that luck and God are useless, and that the Babri Masjid should be rebuilt at the same site. The Janata Dal's dream of returning to power is dependent on the Dalit vote; therefore, secular and Muslim votes both share the same specification. They will go in the direction that will help the BJP lose. These votes decide their destination at the last minute. If the Janata Dal gets the Dalit vote as the main base, then these two kinds of votes will go to it automatically. Mulayam Singh is also following this strategy. The chief minister of Bihar is playing a different game with Dalit votes. Last year, Dr. Ambedkar's first birth centennial was celebrated. Congress arranged several large Bhim [Dalit] meetings. The chief minister, however, had an entirely new idea. He declared in December 1992 that he wanted harijan priests in piths and places of religious worship. He declared Ramai Ram, the state Janata Dal president, Ramacharya and said that his declared shankaracharya would visit those piths riding a chariot and would take them over. On 11 January 1993, the Dalit Legislators' Council declared Ramai Ram, Himanshu, U. M. Paswan, and Chandrika Malik all shankaracharyas. Lalu also appointed his bitter opponent, Ram Sunder Das, chief priest at Sonpur, in the Harihar region. He ordered Kishore Kunal, the managing trustee of the Patna Mahavir Mandir Trust, to make a rule about the temple priests. However, this effort was not successful. Its one-sided effect was that the sant that Kishore Kunal appointed to the chief priest's position in Mahavir Mandir arrived there with Mahant Avaidnath; therefore, his appointment was credited to the BJP.

Kanshi Ram began to rise in the early eighties from Bamsef. Later, D.S. Fore was established. Later, in 1984, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) was formed. Both Bamsef and D.S. Fore are no longer in Kanshi Ram's control. In December 1991, the BSP was also divided. Kanshi Ram was accused repeatedly of playing the politics of money. The accusation was that he selected candidates to run for election after accepting money. These accusations were levied by people very close to him; however, he used his clout and succeeded in keeping the support of the Indian Republican Party in northern India. This support has weakened a lot now. It is mounting a rather strong campaign against the Bahujan Kranti Dal, formed after a breakup in the party. Kanshi Ram has been left behind for many reasons. He never goes to a place where Dalits are suffering. He did not go to Kumher or Sudur. Meanwhile, his main opponent, Ram Vilas Paswan, carried a light for justice all over the country after the Sudur incident. He has always been in the forefront of such demonstrations. The Dalit Panthers were formed after the model of the Black Panthers. Mr. Paswan had gone as far as the United States of America to fight for Black Americans. He arranged protection for the new Buddhists within the ministry building. The order about the Mandal Commission was also issued from his ministry. The struggle to get the support of the

Dalits and the fight among the Dalit leadership will increase during the next few months. The reason is that these votes are the lifeblood of the non-BJP opposition in northern India.

BJP 'Going All Out' To Increase Support in South

BK2507090993 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
19 Jul 93 p 6.

[Text] The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), for long dismissed as a party whose influence does not extend beyond the Hindi heartland, is going all out to spread its wings in the South:

The party considers the present political scene in the four Southern States favourable to it in the background of the gradual weakening of anti-Congress forces. "The polarised political scene was impeding our entry into the South all these years," said O. Rajagopal, a party vice-president, who has been given the charge of Kerala and Karnataka in the recent reconstitution of the party's executive.

"The fact that an office bearer of the rank of a vice-president has been given charge of the two States shows the importance the party attaches to the South," he said told INDIAN EXPRESS.

"There was a time when there was a misunderstanding that the BJP is merely a North Indian party and its vision did not extend to the South. The fact is that the BJP could not make any headway until recently because of the peculiar political situation in States like Kerala and Tamil Nadu. But this polarisation will not last long," Rajagopal averred.

The "Front politics" in Kerala with the Congress-led United Democratic Front and the Left Democratic Front [LDF] and the tussle for supremacy between the Dravidian parties, AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] and the DMK [Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam], in Tamil Nadu had virtually closed the doors on the possibility of the emergence of a third force.

The situation was more or less similar in Andhra Pradesh with the Congress ranged against the Telugu Desam Party. It was only Karnataka which gave the BJP an opening in the last couple of years when the party was able to wrest four Lok Sabha seats from the Congress.

Analysing the political situation in the South, Rajagopal said that in Kerala, Communist ideology was fast losing its charm due to reverses worldwide. "Fissures and groupism, strangely on the basis of caste, have surfaced in the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], the major constituent of the LDF. E.K. Nayanar represents the upper castes and Achutanandan the Ezhavas, who provide the backbone of the party. Conscious of the fact that the LDF cannot come to power on its own, it has begun to woo the fundamentalists among the Muslims, who constitute 21 percent of the population," he added.

This segment was considered to be solid vote bank for the Muslim League, an alliance partner of the UDF [United Democratic Front]. "But not anymore. The Islamic Sevak Sangh [ISS] which was able to capture the fancy of the Muslim youth has broken this vote bank," he said, alleging that the "rank and file of the ISS are actually Marxist cadres."

He reasoned that all this "wooing of the Muslims by both the LDF and the UDF" had led to a considerable rethinking among the Hindus on their extending support to the two Fronts.

He expected a "radical change in Kerala the moment there is a change of Government at the Centre" and said that there was a marked shift in the attitude of the Christians, who equal the Muslim population in the State, towards the BJP.

But it is Karnataka where the party is sure of reaping immediate benefits. "I have been asked to devote more time and energy to Karnataka because the situation there is most ideal for us. With the phenomenon of the Janata Dal (JD) having disintegrated and the Congress racked by internecine feuds, there is a vacuum and only we can fill it. Our impressive performance in the recent Yelahanka Assembly by-election has reaffirmed our expectations," Rajagopal said.

"We were all along accused of being a party of the upper castes. Now that a backward class man has been made president of the State unit nobody can point finger at us," he declared.

The BJP, according to him, is not unduly perturbed about the recent merger of the H.D. Devi Gowda-led SJP [Samajwadi Janata Party] with the Janata Dal in the State. "We in fact welcome the development. This will help us because the anti-BJP vote will get split between the Congress and the Janata Dal," he said.

Rajagopal agrees that the BJP would find Tamil Nadu the hardest stronghold to breach in the South. "It is a fact that Dravidian parties have held sway for decades here. Efforts to forge an alliance with Jayalalitha's AIADMK have not made much progress because the anti-religion, anti-Hindu and anti-Brahmin sentiments in the party have still not died down, he said.

The BJP is also identifying pockets in Andhra Pradesh where it hopes to do well. "The TDP [Telugu Desam Party] is basically a one-leader party. Moreover, it does not have a distinct political ideology, with anti-Congressism being its only strength," he said.

Pranab Mukherjee: Changes in Dunkel Draft Sought

93AS0847D Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
27 Apr 93 p 16

[Text] New Delhi—India had sought changes, improvements and understandings on several areas of the Dunkel draft, Commerce Minister Pranab Mukherjee told the Rajya Sabha on Tuesday.

The changes and improvements were conveyed at the Geneva meeting in December last, the Minister told H Hanumanthappa in a written reply during question hour.

The areas covered included: in textiles, on the back loading of the draft agreement; in TRIPS on compulsory licensing, importation as working, clean transition period, patenting of genetic material and sui generis system of protection for plant varieties; in agriculture, on food stocking, public distribution and minimum market access; and in services, on movement of skilled and professional personnel.

There is no proposal for issuing a white paper on the Dunkel draft, Mr. Mukherjee said in another written reply to P.K. Jogi and Hari Singh.

Government had constituted a group of ministers which had held consultations with political parties, trade and industry, economists, journalists and academicians in February 1992 to ascertain their views on the Dunkel proposals.

Government had also initiated discussions in the Lok Sabha on these proposals on December 23 1992 and during the discussions it was decided that consultations would be held with political parties, he said.

Consultations have already been held with CPI, CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)], Janata Dal, Janata Party, Samajwadi Janata Party and the Telugu Desam during February and March 1993. It is proposed to broaden the consultations by inviting trade unions and farmers' organisations also, he said.

In 1992 the United States withdrew benefits under the generalised scheme of preferences from India on chemical items in chapters 28-38 of the harmonised system. It also designated India as a "priority foreign country" under the Special 301 provision of its trade laws. Both actions were stated to have been taken on grounds of allegedly weak intellectual property protection in India, particularly on patents.

The annual report of the United States trade representative on foreign trade barriers, released on March 31, 1993 has also alleged weak intellectual property protection, particularly on patents and barriers in the area of trade in goods and services in Uruguay round.

Government had communicated to the U.S. that the Uruguay round negotiation provide the best mechanism for resolving these issues.—PTI

World Bank To Finance Social Safety Net

93AS0951A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 1 May 93
p 1

[Quotation marks and boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 30. The World Bank has agreed to finance a new social safety net for India which would go to protect the workers affected in the adjustment process. Besides, the Bank has also expressed willingness to provide sectoral adjustment loans of \$800 millions in various sectors, particularly trade reforms, financial sector and the rural credit system as also for the development of the hydro-carbon sector and modernisation of the capital market.

The World Bank has already committed about \$500 millions for the National Renewal Fund (NRE) which will be utilised to finance the redeployment and retraining of workers in case of closure of sick units.

Recycling of Funds

Finance for the new social safety net will come from the recycling of about \$500 millions to 600 millions available as savings from funds disbursed by the International Development Agency (IDA) to India. The savings have accrued because of exchange rate fluctuations.

The suggestion to recycle the savings was made by the Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, to the World Bank President, Mr. Lewis T. Preston, during their meeting in Washington on Thursday. Information available with the Finance Ministry here indicates that the Bank President agreed with Dr. Singh's suggestion to recycle these funds which will also be used to increase allocations in social sectors particularly health, family planning, education and rural development.

Mr. Preston also indicated willingness of the World Bank to assist India in bridging its exceptional financing gap by providing sectoral adjustment loans of \$800 millions for the designated sectors.

R. Chakrapani reports from Washington:

Dr. Manmohan Singh today gave strong support to the Fund's proposal for the allocation of SDR 36 billion for a new basic period and the move to create a successor facility to the enhanced structural adjustment facility.

Speaking about the progress of reforms in India, Dr. Singh said, "the crisis is over." He said India had achieved considerable progress in stabilising its economy and in undertaking structural reforms in industrial, fiscal, trade and other areas. This had enabled a rise in growth from barely 1.2 per cent in 1991-92 to 4 per cent and the reduction in the rate of inflation from 17 per cent to less than 6.5 per cent. Export performance was promising.

He thanked the IMF and other international financial organisations for the timely help provided as also the

countries that had provided bilateral assistance. "The crisis is over and our requirements of exceptional financing to support our reforms are now modest though we shall continue to rely on international support to meet them," he said.

"We are conscious that the process of economic reform has a long way to go. We are determined to see those reforms brought to a successful conclusion and we know that our success will largely depend on our own efforts."

Dr. Singh, who addressed the interim committee in session today, said the signals received from the international economy were mixed. The good news from the industrial countries was that inflation had been brought under control but the bad news was that the prospects of growth were anaemic.

Fund Surveillance

There was urgent need for greater consolidation of the policies of "locomotive economies", meaning major industrial countries. He said there should be greater Fund surveillance of those countries, paying particular attention to their impact on developing countries.

Calling for a fresh allocation of SDRs in the new low inflationary environment he said, "This happy outcome (regarding inflation) greatly reinforces the case for a fresh allocation of SDRs. [quotation marks as published]"

Abandonment of Public Sector Feared With Privatization

93AS0900F Cochin THE WEEK in English 23 May 93
pp 44-45

[Article by Anju Govil: "Go Slow, Please"]

[Text]

A total abandonment of the public sector has few advocates.

It is almost two years since the Narasimha Rao government launched the "structural reforms" package for the economy amid a lot of cheering and prompting from international organisations like the IMF and the World Bank and compulsions from the creditor countries. But the package had a mixed reception at home. While private industry was generally enthusiastic, the trade unions were suspicious. Employers organisations like the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and the Standing Conference of Public Enterprises (SCOPE) cast their lot with the trade unions on certain issues and the government on the other. Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) cautioned against the high speed of reforms.

Understandably, the main concern of the finance minister was to correct the fiscal imbalances. The policies had diverse impact on the private and the public sectors and consequently evoked diverse reactions. It was the

impact sector that irked the trade unions most. Specific examples were put forward to illustrate their woes.

The woes of the public sector units, according to trade union leaders, were largely of the government making. They suspected the efficaciousness of the new government policies, if not the motives of the government. Says M. K. Pandhe of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU): "Although the government recognised the need for a change in policy, it continues to commit mistakes." He believes that under the guise of disinvestment, the government is actually doing distress sale of shares. An example pointed out is of the BHEL [Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited] whose paid-up capital stands at Rs 600 crore. At today's prices, its assets would amount to more than Rs 25,000 crore. But a Rs 10 share was being offered at a mere Rs 15. Similar is the case of Indian Iron and Steel Company (IISCO). "The government's method of calculating the value of assets is wrong. The book value of these assets may be negligible due to depreciation but the real market value may be astronomical," he says.

Many union leaders are convinced that the private sector is attracted to the sick public sector units not by any anxiety to save them but by the surplus land available with them. It is a good investment in real estate. S. L. Rao of INTUC presents an example. "The Mangalore Fertiliser and Chemical, a public sector unit, was taken over by the Mallya group. It continues to remain closed. The promise of a Rs 200-crore investment has not materialised. Of course, the blame for the non-revival is passed on to the financial institutions as they are unwilling to help."

Every one supports the need to change the orientation of economic policies and to globalise. There is recognition that it is neither necessary nor desirable that the economy should become a monolithic type of organisation. But a total abandonment of the public sector has few advocates. Says B. D. Joshi of AITUC: "Mistakes were committed in the path of socialism but that does not mean we wash our hands off it totally and suddenly. There is no need to panic. The new economic order should be a socially-oriented market economy."

It is argued that each public sector unit is to be viewed individually in the light of its public service approach. M. A. Hakim, secretary-general, SCOPE, explains: "The role of FCI, either in a year of scarcity or in a year of plenty, cannot be underestimated. Besides providing the nation with food security it has made the green revolution possible." Hakim would want the policymakers to take a strong second look at the factors which brought the public sector to its present stage. "There has been no discipline in the management of public sector enterprises. The government interfered in their day-to-day administration."

According to Hakim, the public sector should first be placed on an equal footing with the private sector before being thrown open to competition. Two suggestions

emerge. First, the government should let the public sector unit be entirely board managed. And secondly, the government's right to interfere should be limited to the board room.

The public and private sectors had their respective advantages and disadvantages prior to the liberalisation. But while the new economic policy removed the constraints on the private sector, the public sector is made to face competition from a disadvantageous position. "If the steel sector is thrown open to the private sector and foreign capital, the SAIL [Steel Authority of India] should also be allowed to raise funds from abroad," suggests Pandhe.

It is pointed out that even the German government is subsidising steel exports to the tune of \$100 per tonne and that the U.S. is also following a protectionist policy against Indian steel. Almost all the union leaders fear that the liberalisation policy would lead to import of outdated technology. To them there is little comparison with the so-called Asian tigers. Says R. L. Bhakt of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh: "Korea, Taiwan and China have enough regulations and a committed work culture. Barring China, the others are small countries with small populations." According to the union leaders, the difference is that a small inflow of capital from Japan could work miracles in the east Asian countries. But India is a different proposition and foreign investors may not be ready to pump in adequate resources to modernise the Indian economy. They would prefer the short-term route of making money by trading. Gopeshwar of INTUC points out that foreign investment is largely lured to the consumer goods sector. Asks Hakim: "Oil and power sectors were thrown open. But who has come so far?"

The trade unions grumble that the latest budget presented by Manmohan Singh, his third, has also not taken any of these anxieties into consideration. The leaders expect unemployment to increase in the next couple of years by seven to nine million. Even the objective of containing inflation may not work in the long run, as white goods prices are expected to rise after six months, according to them.

Joshi's complaint is against the absence of any plan to redeploy and retrain people who are hit by modernisation. He says there is a scramble for voluntary retirement in the ITDC, but none of them knows what he would be doing next. There is no consensus on the contours and even the International Labour Organisation has warned the multinationals against excessive retrenchment.

A FICCI spokesman, however, believes that unemployment and recession would be a temporary phenomenon. S. L. Yadav, a FICCI official, says: "Units which are losing continuously need to trim labour. Otherwise there will be few takers."

Labour ministry officials say they have prepared elaborate guidelines on redeployment and training for the private sector, so that the shock of modernisation could

be absorbed. Before offering voluntary retirement benefits to an employee, the company must ascertain the economic status of his or her family, future income sources, liabilities, etc., and then go according to the guidelines.

But, in fact, neither the ministry nor any other wing of the government has bothered to survey what happened to the people who have accepted the golden handshake from companies in the public and private sectors. In the NTC alone, 23,000 people have got the golden handshake.

The bureaucrats, however, are not unduly perturbed over the trade union criticism. Says B. P. Sinha, director in the finance ministry: "The reforms will take time to show their impact on production process. Even the multinationals will take some time to start the flow of products. They have no magic wand. There is no need for panic in the domestic industry."

Another bureaucrat S. Behura, a director in the truncated ministry of industries, also allays the fears: "Most of the foreign capital will come for joint ventures. Thus Indians will stay. Only that they will become more competitive. Besides, the entry of foreign companies will be in the sellers market where there will be large scope for profit-making."

The finance ministry officials are unimpressed by the talk of global recession affecting India. They say the demand for Indian products is likely to be high in the erstwhile Soviet bloc countries. They argue that the inflow of labour-saving technology would be compensated by the export of labour-intensive products. Besides, even the very optimistic estimates put the inflow of foreign capital at \$16 billion in 1993-94. How can this drastically upset the Indian industry, they ask.

New Economic Policies Seen Unsuccessful

93AS0962B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 23 Jun 93
p 11

[Article by Kumar Anand: "The New Economic Policies' Result Has Been Contrary to Expectations So Far"]

[Text] The P.V. Narasimha Rao government considered an economic plan to be the first priority of the government during the first two years. However, the government's beautiful dream of joining the Indian economy with international market has not been realized during the last two years. Instead, foreign debt is increasing rapidly. In September 1992 each citizen in the country, from a child to an old man, from a strong person to a weak one, had a foreign debt of 2,306 Rupees and 50 paise.

When it took office, the P.V. government devalued the Indian currency by 22 percent between 28 June and 3 July 1991. After 27 February, when it made the rupee fully convertible, a 15 to 20 percent premium on dollars was added to it. Thus, we have made our own debt even

more difficult to pay. The belief behind this action was that exports would increase; however, this did not happen. At the end of the 1990-1991 fiscal year, the foreign debt was 1.229 billion rupees. This increased to 2.029 billion rupees. If we were to pay this with dollars in

the open market, it would increase because of the premium. (Source: Economic Survey 1992-1993, section 5.17.) This figure does not include the defense and civilian ruble debt.

Foreign Debt		
Year	Dollars (in billions)	Rupees (in crore)
1980-81	23.50	19,470
1985-86	37.35	45,961
1988-89	53.90	84,492
1989-90	58.63	100,376
1990-91	63.40	122,950
1991-92	67.58	198,967
September 92	71.11	202,972

While foreign debt is increasing, so is interest. In 1992-92, interest was 272.5 billion rupees. This increased to 320 billion rupees in 1992-93. This year we will have to pay 380 billion rupees in interest. In other words, in 1991-92, 56.13 percent of our export earnings, and 67 percent in 1992-93, were spent to pay interest. The situation will be the same this year, even though our imports have increased relative to our exports. The P.V. government had expressed the hope that during the eighth five year plan, exports would rise by 13.6 percent and imports would rise by 8.6 percent each year. But according to the 17 May 1993 government bulletin, the results are exactly the opposite. Exports only increased by 3.61 percent, while imports increased by 12.05 percent. In other words, the foreign trade deficit, which in 1991-92 was \$1.610 billion, has increased to \$3.05 billion in 1992-93. If the goals are met during this year, then at the end of the eighth five year plan, the trade balance will be \$679 million. This would not even be enough to pay our interest. It is useless to talk about paying back our debt. During this period, our debts will have increased a great deal more. Our finance minister asked for \$9 billion during the last three years during his meeting with the IMF in late April. Thus, if Prime Minister Rao and Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh have any plans to get our country out of the web of foreign debt, then they have not made any attempt to share it with the nation during the last two years in order to better the condition of the people.

Dr. Manmohan Singh, in his 24 July 1991 budget speech, said that India's economic system would be joined with international markets. In the second paragraph of his speech, he said that in November 1989, when his party was in power, international trust in our economy was very strong. But the political instability, imbalances in our national treasury, and the Gulf crisis reduced trust in our economy. How much economic stability there is can be learned by looking at the situation in the Economy Ministry. Mr. Rao could not find anyone to be a cabinet member in the Ministry of Industries. The finance

minister had already removed three ministers of state that were part of the team that started the liberalization of the economy. After the resignation of P. Chidambaram, who was involved in the Pratibhuti scandal, the Ministry of Trade was run by a deputy minister. All of the ministers here have been changed. Ministers in economy-related ministries, such as the Ministries of Industry and Finance, have also been changed during the last two years.

The finance minister stated that one of the reasons for the bad economy was the dwindling faith of non-resident Indians in India's economy, and as a result, the decreased amount of money invested in India. As for the non-resident Indians, pages 14 and 15 of the April 1993 report published by the Ministry of Finance declare that their faith has not been established, even after two years of publicizing economic policies. After Rao came into government, and between July 1991 and March 1993, non-resident Indians withdrew \$1,748 billion. According to the April 1993 bulletin of the Ministry of Industry, there were foreign investment proposals worth \$2.09 billion after the new policies were implemented in August 1991 and through 1993. No one is able to tell which of these proposals will be implemented. In other words, after the new policies were introduced, non-resident Indians withdrew \$1.74 billion and proposed \$2.09 billion for investment. Even if we say that all of these proposals will be approved, then there will only be an increase of \$342 million during this period.

Question number 38 in the Rajya Sabha to the finance minister on 28 April 1992 was related to why the prices of securities were rising rapidly. He replied that the trust of investors was increasing because of an economic atmosphere and the increase in foreign currency reserves. In March 1992, foreign currency reserves were \$5.631 billion, which became \$6.669 in March 1993. In spite of this, the securities indicators are still falling. Where are the Manmohan criteria for the increasing

trust of investors? Because of this blind faith and inefficiency, there was the 50 billion rupees Pratibhuti embezzlement. In this scandal, government shares were sold at low prices, and according to the registrar general, the government lost 34.42 billion rupees. Independent India lost about 8.5 billion rupees in these two economic frauds.

Dr. Manmohan Singh announced in Parliament on 16 December 1991 that fears about large scale unemployment resulting from these policies were unfounded. Instead, he gave assurances that there would be increased employment in both the government and private sectors. In the report issued by the permanent parliamentary committee of the Ministry of Industry, Dr. Singh's claim was proved wrong by the information included on pages 6-10. According to this report, the government allotted 8.30 billion rupees for government employees who had voluntarily retired in 1992-93. In the current year, the budget included 7 billion rupees to help employees voluntarily retire. In other words, it is not hard to figure out how many government employees were relieved of their jobs after spending 15.30 billion rupees.

This money was paid for voluntary retirement as part of the new national development plan. One of the goals of this plan is to retrain those employees who were laid off; however, the parliamentary committee learned that no efforts were made to retrain or reemploy the laid-off extra employees.

If the situation were better, then cottage industries would have also prospered. In addition to 221,472 small industries, 223,809 other industries are also sick. We cannot claim that the number decreased after the new policies were introduced. As for the question of industrial production, the situation of the fundamental industries is not satisfactory. When we compare the April 1991 to February 1992 period to the April 1992 to February 1993 period, federal electricity production was reduced by 3.6 percent. Crude oil production decreased by 10.6 percent during that period. We import petroleum and fertilizer, and this reduction will affect our country's foreign currency deposits.

The government is showing laziness in economic reform and is leaving everything in limbo. The immigration policy has not been implemented yet. Similarly, the government could not make a firm decision on the Dunkel proposal. The pharmaceutical industry policy is also stuck somewhere. Because of the excess production of sugar cane, mill owners are exploiting the farmers. Because of the government's liberalization policy and for political reasons, the decision has been made to continue licensing sugar mills. For the last year and a half, they have been announcing new company laws, and this was presented during the last session of Parliament. However, the urban areas were not satisfied by this.

The situation is so bad that the finance minister is not following up on his own announcements. In his budget

speeches, he announced the establishment of a non-resident Indian commission, a bureau to determine industrial costs and prices, special national courts, a special oversight commission to determine litigation over customs and central production taxes, and a tribunal. All these promises are stuck in red tape. The whole country is still arguing over the new policies, and the government has failed to explain this to any group. Meanwhile, the state government has to implement these; however, the Central Government did not consider it necessary to collaborate with the state government and monitor the progress of this system.

Still, the government's steps to end the "license crazed bureaucracy" and rise from the conservative system have been praised in all circles. The government has taken some solid steps to release the economy from unnecessary restrictions. But the results are not as good as hoped. Prominent American investment banker J.P. Morgan expressed fears that the rupee would become weaker in comparison to other currencies by the end of the year. The reason for this is the increase in imports and foreign debts. This was the first time that an international banker clearly pointed out this problem. According to Morgan, the loan taken from the IMF has to be paid in 1994. At the same time, India will need \$8 billion in 1994-95 to pay off other debts. In other words, in order to pay off debts, India is getting stuck deeper in this spider's web of debts.

Economic Minister's Reversal of Nehru's Policies Analyzed

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27 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Manu Saraf and S. Kumar: "The Solution is to Cast Off the Socialistic Economic Policies of Nehru"]

[Text] India's first prime minister, the late Jawarhalal Nehru, approved of the Soviet model for India's economic development, and under a mixed economic policy, gave so much importance to the public sector that the private sector was cursed to a slow death under its heavy weight. As time passed, the so-called public sector went through many phases and changed to a bureaucracy, which was a natural development. With this metamorphosis, administrative inefficiency, looting, losses, and corruption became synonymous with this system. The Indian economic system began to become a pain in the neck; however, the pressure of stubbornness about centralization was so strong that Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, and Chandra Shekhar could not neutralize the Nehru model of development. During the last two years, the Nehru model of development has gradually been pushed aside, and the efforts at liberalization and privatization of economy by Finance Minister Manmohan Singh are gaining momentum.

Our country is suffering from uncertainty, indecisiveness, and procrastination over the very important issue of liberalization and privatization of the economy. No

other large and developing country in the world has faced similar indecisiveness. The fact is that Pundit Nehru, India's first prime minister, developed a huge state sector by copying the Soviet model. It was based on the wrong philosophy of "the bureaucratic control over free enterprise." The result of this was the birth of vested interests composed of a feudal bureaucracy. As a negative result of this system, industrial progress in our country was blocked, because very few subsidies were received compared to the government and public sectors. They were considered necessary evils, at best, within the framework of the mixed economic system, and the public sector was glorified unnecessarily, to the point of blind faith. As the result of this, national and foreign investment was stopped by implementing many suffocating laws. In spite of all this, but because of the lack of healthy competition, the public sector, supported by the government, is the victim of losses and bad administration. Not only this, but public sector industries also played an important role in implementing the desires of the ruling party to establish a political monopoly.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi mainly kept this Nehru economic system intact. Mr. V.P. Singh and Mr. Chandra Shekhar could not effect any basic changes in this system either. If there was any change, then it was just an exception, and every exception only supports the existence of a rule or a system. Marxist philosophers such as Dange, Jyoti Basu, Nambudripad, and Harkishan Singh Surjit made it their main profession to oppose even basic reforms. They opposed it just for the sake of opposition politics, and blindly opposed any policy hinting toward liberalization or privatization of the economy. Along with them, the bureaucratic vested interests who represented this sector of losses and insolvency supported the system with religious fervor.

The control of these so-called left-wing socialists and communists supporting a strong centralized system was so great that even when our country's economy was approaching bankruptcy, liberalization and privatization, free enterprise and competition, were declared to be foreign matters, and the people who supported or spoke for these were treated like untouchables.

This was the national context when Dr. Manmohan Singh took over the office of central finance minister. India had lost a lot of prestige at the international level at that time, and it was believed that in spite of hunger and economic bankruptcy, the Indian government would continue to stick with government socialism and its empty slogans, just like its support for pseudo-secularism. Even after the fall of the Soviet Union, the loss of the Eastern European centralized economic system, reforms in China, the widespread emergence of liberalization and privatization, and progress all around, the myopic left-wing government of India continued to glorify permits, quotas, licenses, state and non-competitive government monopolies, and the public

sector representing the bureaucracy. The main characters in this story were the economics of deficit, inflation, the black market, and corruption.

As finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh brought our attention to the basic defects in this bogus and lifeless tribute, and all of the problems of these policies are becoming as clear as objects under the bright sunlight. He brought the people's attention to the basic contradiction within this policy, in order to replace a lifeless system which famous economist Mr. Manu Sharaf described as "a feudal viewpoint against individualism and hard work," with an economic system based on the principle of healthy competition. He considered it his main duty to develop an environment conducive to this change. He showed his courage and faced the worst kind of insults and criticisms by these pseudo-socialists. No other finance minister in India has shown such courage, especially in situations where the progress of our country was totally at a standstill and the pseudo-socialists, pseudo-left wingers, and all kinds of centrists within and without the party are targeting him with their insults and harsh criticisms. They are calling him an agent of the IMF and the World Bank. In addition, they are crossing the boundaries of the democratic system and calling this man and his ministry the "ministry of national shame, national submission, and national devaluation." However, Dr. Manmohan Singh, ignoring all this criticism, has taken important steps to free the Indian economy from the clutches of bureaucratic restrictions, rules, wheeling-dealings, and anti-progress pressures and making it more and more flexible, liberal and competitive to attract foreign investors. His efforts have been recognized for their historical, decisive, democratic, and reformative importance, and he has the honor of being named the most effective finance minister in Asia. This honor to the man who took decisive steps to reject the much-abused social and socialistic formulas by the international Asian group is not only an appropriate and logical step, but also was the recognition of free enterprise. This independent initiative and the free enterprise that goes with it were considered very important by the late economist Sharaf (1839-1965). He had declared this to be very appropriate at a time when the pro-Nehru socialistic model had put a lot of pressure on the economic area. He said, "The birth of independent hard work started at the same time human life began, and it will continue as long as there are humans on this earth." There is no doubt that our reforming and liberal economist finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, has launched a major effort to eliminate this anti-free market economic model, started during Nehru's time. He has tried to reduce the practice of deficit budgets and focused the economic effort to keep the inflation rate around five to six percent and establish the real importance of free enterprise at national and international levels. It is true that even within the Congress Party and outside of it, there is no dearth of the opponent of his liberal and free enterprise and free initiative, as well as open competition. However, none of the opponents or the group of opponents have presented a formula for

economic development that could make the Indian economic system competitive at international level one day, in spite of all the ups and downs in our country. The left-wing opponents of the Indian finance minister, because of their blind desire to oppose him, find themselves negating even the positive aspects of his policies. They are even accusing him of giving our country away to many multi-national companies instead of the East India Company. When they do that, they forget that China, the model of their dreams and ideals, is moving its finance ministry much faster than Dr. Singh is in getting foreign investments. However, in spite of this investment, which is much higher than it is in India, China has achieved a 12.5 percent growth rate and has silenced not only the opponents of the liberalization and privatization of the economy in China itself, but also people all over the world. It was natural for these opponents to stop talking, because the above-mentioned growth rate is the highest in the world, and many prominent economists in the world estimate that if China continues to encourage liberalization, reforms, and foreign investments, then in a few years, its total GNP will surpass that of the United States of America. Those who make such prophecies include the prominent economic columnist in the NEW YORK TIMES. The pseudo-secularists and pseudo-socialists in our country should learn something from the progress China has made by liberalizing its economy and should not only stop opposing Dr. Manmohan Singh's liberal economic policies, but should also help create an environment that helps accelerate economic reforms and privatization. This way, India, like China, will be able to attract foreign investment, so that our country's economy breaks free from old and anachronistic philosophies and makes progress in order to compete at the international level.

It is important and appropriate at this point to analyze the so-called "seven sins" that are associated with the efforts at economic liberalization and free enterprise. The pseudo-left wing and those under their influence usually cite these, often with some minor change in vocabulary.

Among these "seven sins," the first "sin" says that liberalization and privatization have many spokespersons in whose long-range plans there is no interest in developing a competitive market, and they just try to generate as much tax revenue as possible at the present time. Such critics forget the fact that the short- and the long-term goals are indispensable to each other in the economic area, and that the question is not of separating them against each other, but rather, to keep their relationship balanced. This way, this baseless reasoning against economic liberalization and privatization burns in the heat of its own contradiction.

We read and hear about the "wrong environment" related to liberalization and privatization when the second "sin" is mentioned. In this context, the critics argue that privatization should be supported only when it creates an environment that helps the market run smoothly and allows it to totally liberate itself from

autocratic government laws. This reasoning is totally baseless and impractical. It suffers from the hypothesis related to an objective situation, which is impossible in today's realistic times.

In the context of the third "sin," they mention "non-transparent" processes. They argue that often liberalization and privatization are being implemented in very corrupt environments. There is no doubt that corruption is not only a national, but an international problem at this time; however, one of the basic reasons for corruption is widespread government interference and control. If liberalization is practiced widely and continuously, then many of these problems can be resolved.

In order to clarify the fourth "sin," they argue that liberalization and privatization are often abused just to reduce the budget deficit. This reasoning has no weight, because nothing is said about the real reasons for the budget deficit. At the same time, they are ignoring the fact that it is necessary that all possible and appropriate efforts be made to reduce the deficit that has resulted because of wrong policies. When they mention the fifth "sin," they say that it is the product of poor economic strategy. In this context, they suggest that the sale of various assets should be made through publicly owned shares. This suggestion appears to be good; however, it is not practical, because it clearly shows the tendency to ignore the social-economic goals that are specific to a developing country.

In the sixth "sin," unrealistic and impractical labor-related strategies are mentioned. There is no doubt that liberalization and privatization cause some problems for laborers and workers; however, these are only temporary problems. They can be resolved when the growth rate and gross national product increase and the distribution system is made more efficient and fair.

Now we can throw some light on the seventh "sin," which in the context of the developed nations, is the most important problem that the enemies of liberalization and privatization consider to be the worst sin. They say that liberalization and privatization should not be viewed merely as a strategic process; it should be viewed as a political process and problem. Here no one can object to calling their logic realistic. But the problem arises when they say that total political agreement is required for the liberalization and privatization of economies. This is an impossible requirement that is not possible in a democratic society. The society accepts many philosophies, even contradictory ones, and considers it a basic right to have differences of opinion instead of having one opinion required in an autocratic social system.

The aforementioned facts, situations, and methodologies make it clear that liberalization and privatization, as well as multi-pronged economic reforms, are necessary in the changing situation in this world. These can be criticized, but no country can afford to escape the effects of this change. This is a required condition and process for our

industrial society, which is in agreement with the present industrialized societies of the world. Therefore, it would be in India's interests that we prepare our nation for this process, which will help India make progress, and we should get rid of the old anachronistic philosophies as soon as possible.

The Present National Savings Rate and Manmohan Singh

Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, who has given birth to liberalization, privatization, and bringing about a major change in the Indian economy by having foreigners invest in India, spoke at the Indian Industries Federation's annual convention. He expressed concern that our country would not be able to attain a five percent annual growth rate until the present savings rate is increased. He reminded the conference participants that a country that makes rapid economic progress has an annual savings rate of 30 to 35 percent, while this rate in India is only 20 to 22 percent. The finance minister has given an appropriate warning at the appropriate time, one which asks industrialists not to look at the process of liberalization, privatization, and investment as a temporary process. Instead, they should look at it as a long-range process and provide it a strong national base.

A Tragic Situation, in Spite of Relief from Taxes

In order to give solid support for liberalization and privatization, the central finance minister is trying to push away Nehru's economic development model, which pushed the nation to the brink of bankruptcy. As part of these reforms, some important reliefs were started. As a result, the present tax system is only 26 percent, while this tax rate was more than 45 percent before Dr. Singh. In spite of this relief, though, the savings rate in the private sector is less than 0.5 percent of the gross national product. If we want to make liberalization and privatization successful and permanent, then we must improve the pitiful situation the industrialists are in.

Increase in Foreign Currency Reserve

The blind critics of Central Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh's liberal economic policies forget the fact that during the last two months, foreign exchange assets and SDRs [special drawing rights] have increased by \$1.749 billion. Until February 1993, this amount was only \$5.278 billion while, at the end of April, this has risen to \$7.027 billion.

Swadeshi Campaign Seen in Offing

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pp 1,6

[Article by Rambahadur Ray: "Sadhus and Sants Will Bring About a People's Swadeshi Movement"]

[Text] New Delhi, 1 July—The sadhus and sants have started to jump into the political arena, in addition to

being involved in religious affairs. These people will form public opinion about the swadeshi [use of India-made goods] campaign. They are totally against the Dunkel proposals. This could be considered a major initiative in politics. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) took the responsibility of using sadhus and sants to once again force change in the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] agenda. The basic conflict over economic policy will emerge from this in the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] family. At this time, the BJP and the RSS family are in disagreement on this issue. It is considered to be closer to the Congress Party in its economic policy.

There was a meeting of the Margdarshaks [leaders] recently in Haridwar. It showed an inclination towards the swadeshi campaign for the first time. The speeches made by Datto Pant Thengri and Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, who were invited by Swami Vamdev, were heard with great attention. Mr. Thengri's speech was considered boring, difficult, and too technical. However, Dr. Joshi was able to explain clearly to his audience that the country was in danger of becoming a slave again, and that the sadhus and sants should explain this to the people. After these speeches, plans were made to educate the people about the economic issues in two parts. The Chaturmas begins in two days. During this time, the sadhus will live in one place. Keeping that in view, the sadhus will spread the message of the swadeshi movement during the first phase of this program only around this area. If necessary, they will take a one-day trip. The second phase will begin in October. This will be a phase of concentrated effort to raise public awareness. The sadhus will visit villages everywhere during that time.

The sadhus are joined by religious faith in the Ayodhya campaign. Their image would be changed by their involvement in the swadeshi campaign. Their energy will be used in a new project. The question is: Will the sadhus adopt to it? The day Mr. Thengri and Dr. Joshi gave speeches in Marg Darshak Mandal, the sadhus sat for four hours and 15 minutes and continuously listened to their speeches. The major leaders of the BJP claim that this was the most representative Marg Darshak Mandal during the last ten years. There are 165 members, 140 of which were present. In addition, there was representation from 13 piths [arenas]. All in all, there were about 250 sadhus present at the Marg Darshak Mandal. The whole arena organization was there. It is considered to be the representative of all Hindu factions. Swami Vamdev announced in Marg Darshak Mandal that Mr. Thengri and Dr. Joshi had come there on his invitation.

Swami Vamdev is considered the most important religious leader in the Ayodhya campaign. Whatever he says directs other people. He says that religious policy cannot be separated from economic policy now, because economic policy also influences the whole society. This new attitude has given a new task to the sadhus present in the Marg Darshak Mandal. It is the VHP's [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] responsibility to channel its energy into a new direction. One Swami Klyananand was so excited that he demanded a list. He wanted to give the list to his

disciples. It was not easy to create a swadeshi environment in Haridwar this time. Many sadhus and saints were active on the government's behalf also. They were making accusations that this group was using the sadhus for political reasons. They also tried to break up the officials of Akhada Parishad by tempting and threatening them. In this atmosphere, it was difficult for the sadhus to accept this new and non-religious project.

Five days before that, the working committee of the RSS passed a resolution in Nagpur. It calls for a new economic system. The RSS is willing to reject the government's economic policy. It has decided to start propagating for swadeshi. It asks for support to help it on the swadeshi awareness issue. This is not a new attitude for the RSS. Two years ago, Balasahab Deoras issued an appeal. Chandra Shekhar, on reading the appeal, questioned the BJP. Since then, there has been disagreement between the RSS and the BJP over economic policy. This part of the RSS proposal clarifies its stand: "Doors are being opened for international and foreign companies in the name of economic liberalization. It is perfectly clear now that the IMF, the World Bank, and the industrialized nations are pressuring us to accept their conditions. Foreign economic imperialism is being validated in the name of economic stability, developmental planning, and internationalization of the economy. The GATT international plan (which should have been limited for resolving commodities trade and custom duty issues) is being used by the Western nations to establish their autonomy over developing countries and over all of their economic activities. It will affect agriculture, industries, services, and production and distribution efforts."

The RSS opposes the Dunkel proposal. The BJP has limited its opposition to it to the area of agriculture only. The swadeshi economic system was the slogan used by the Jan Sangh at one time. Congress has taken the part of a liberal economy. The BJP is not opposed to it. Mr. Lalkarishna Advani, president of the BJP, says that his party is against globalization. This means that he does not want multinational companies to be able to enter the area of consumer goods. The BJP policy on economic becomes suspect when it is closely scrutinized. There are some facts and some false accusations behind it. The fact is that it agrees with the slogan of a liberal economy. It agrees with the basic diagram, but also wants to apply its own color to it. It did not say what color it chose, or where it would be used.

The situation between Congress and the BJP over economic policy is almost the same as the stand of the left wing and socialist parties over Pundit Nehru's social economy. This is the problem of Indian politics. It is difficult to keep the Congress government's economic policy separate from the United States of America. If the BJP's attitude towards the United States is the same as that of the Congress Party, the other parties within the RSS family have the courage to stand up to the BJP on this issue. The cooperation between the United States and multinational companies are two separate sides of

the same economic policy. They play this game with all the political parties. The BJP cannot be considered exempt from this influence.

The fact is that the new decisions made by the Haridwar Marg Darshak Mandal should be viewed against this background. It is the politics of pulling the BJP into the swadeshi issue. During the eighties, the BJP raised slogans of Gandhian socialism. Atal Behari Vajpayee was its spokesperson during that period. The VHP received the support of the huge Hindu society on the issue of religion. Afterwards, the Hinduization of politics over religious questions increased. The BJP also came under pressure. After a long struggle, on June 1989, the BJP included the Ayodhya issue in its agenda. The VHP has included the Hindu economic philosophy in its new economic proposal.

Government Agenda for Economic Reforms Detailed

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[Commentary by N.K. Ray]

[Text] The government's agenda for economic reforms announced on Friday confirms the acceptance of the Chelliah Committee's suggestion that customs duty be lowered to around 25 percent by 1996-97. The committee has also recommended that nonessential consumer goods, when allowed for import, should attract 50 percent duty. Secondly, the agenda conforms to the reforms in trade policy as suggested by the international financial institutions, which had recommended that the negative list of imports be pruned and only those items retained which could not be allowed into the country on considerations of environmental hazards or for social factors, as in the case of beef tallow which was banned for import. This conditionality of the international institutions basically aims at removing the tariff and non-tariff barriers on the imports of consumer goods.

According to official sources, the reform program in trade policy is almost over but for the restriction on consumer goods and some other items. The announcement of the time frame for removing these restrictions has now been indicated by the government which would facilitate future negotiations for structural adjustment loans from the World Bank as well as the extended fund facility loans from the International Monetary Fund. As per available indications, the government proposes to negotiate structural adjustment loans from the World Bank for specific areas of trade and industrial policy reforms, and the financial and the agricultural sectors.

The areas of reforms in these areas have also been outlined in the discussion paper released by the Finance Ministry. In order to facilitate the extended fund facility loan from the IMF, the discussion paper broadly mentions that the combined fiscal deficit of the central and the state governments would be brought down from 7 percent of the Gross Domestic Product in 1993-94 to 5

percent in 1996-97 and of the central government to 3 percent of the GDP. This would necessitate better targeting and reduction in subsidies and overhaul of efforts toward administered prices and charges, reduction in budgetary support to public sector enterprises, and tightening of procedures to contain the growth of public expenditure.

Similarly, in the area of tax reforms, the government has stated that the agenda would be in line with the recommendation of the Chelliah Committee which has recommended broadening of tax base to include many currently exempted goods and some services and abolish virtually all commodity-specific and user-specific exemptions. Besides, there would be a move toward only one of two rates for raw materials, components, and other intermediate goods. The system of Modified Value Added Tax, MODVAT, would be extended to cover virtually all sectors and that there would be a gradual switch away from specific to ad valorem rates or to a system of automatic inflation indexing of specific rates.

On customs tariff, the agenda is for a gradual reduction in the average tariff level to around 25 percent, excluding duty exempt in part with the maximum rate of 50 percent. There would also be elimination of end-use-specific exemptions, with the main exception of inputs used in export production. There would also be elimination of exemptions from the countervailing duty.

Significantly, the government proposes to remove the bar on imports of consumer goods on grounds that the high level of tariff and physical restrictions accorded very high protection to the domestic consumer goods manufacturing sector. This protection had to be brought down in due course as it would divert production away from areas where protection had been reduced and toward consumer goods. Consequently, the plan is to rationalize customs duties and import policies for consumer goods in such a manner that by 1996-97 all consumer goods come on the tariff-cum-CGL [expansion unknown] import regime. In the area of direct taxes, the plan is to continue the process of gradual reduction in the income and corporate tax rates with the phasing out, subject to exigencies of the fiscal situation [sentence as heard]. Also the scope of presumptive tax would be gradually expanded.

For the structural adjustment loans in the financial sector, the agenda points out that the government plans to implement over the next three years a complete ban on generalized loan waivers, set up an institutional framework for speedy and effective loan recovery process, phase out ceilings and flaws on bank deposit and lending rates, except for the continuation of the single concessional lending rate of 3 percent below the rate charged to prime borrowers. Similar reforms in the insurance sector would have to await the report of the expert committee set up for this purpose under the chairmanship of the former Reserve Bank Governor, Mr. R.N. Malhotra.

Commentary Views Country's Encouraging Export Performance

BK1707134593 Delhi All India Radio General Overseas Service in English GMT 17 Jul 93

[Commentary by journalist Suresh Singh: "Growth of Indian Exports"]

[Text] During April and May, the first two months of the current financial year, India's exports have risen by 29.69 percent as against the figures of the corresponding months of the year 1992-93. In U.S. dollar terms, the performance of April to May this year was \$3,458.58 million compared to the same period of 1992 which amounted to \$2,666.83 million only. The year 1993 has begun with the very encouraging trend in exports and, if it maintains this tempo during the following months of the financial year, the export target of 20 percent growth during 1993-94 set up by the government of India would not be difficult to achieve.

The Government of India has emphasized that to achieve the projected growth rate of 20 percent, vigorous efforts are being made in all the possible sectors. As a matter of fact, the trend of this growth has been slowly but steadily on the rise in the last two months. April 1993 witnessed an increase of 28.9 percent in dollar terms over the figures of April 1992. This trend has been maintained and further strengthened by the increase of exports which stepped up by 29.69 percent over the corresponding months of 1992. Imports during the April-May period have declined by 4.05 percent. As against \$3,611.57 million during the April-May period in 1992, the imports during April-May 1993 registered a (lower) of \$3,465.17 million.

Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics has estimated the trade deficit to the tune of \$6.59 million only during this period as against \$944.74 million in the April-May 1992. The import-export and trade balance of April and May 1993-94 compared with the performance of corresponding months of the year 1992-93 depicts a very promising scenario of the total foreign trade of the country. The mechanism of rupee payment is no longer a bottleneck for foreign trade as India introduced trading in hard currency with erstwhile countries of rupee payment area. Now, with classifications of exports to the general currency area or to the rupee payment area, it has picked up considerably during the current financial year. The excise duty cuts in the budget were the biggest in history and import duty cuts brought down input costs which have ultimately registered a favorable market for Indian goods abroad. What is encouraging is that even nontraditional items like iron and steel, aluminium and alumina, glass, ceramics, and chemicals have also registered a substantial increase in their export.

On the other hand, traditional items like agricultural and allied products, gems, and jewelry continued their significant improvement. Total exports in the textile sector during April 93 were estimated at \$553.03 million as

against the same month's performance in the previous year. The sector, however, includes coir and jute along with their products. The target fixed under this head for the current financial year is \$7,400 million. Apart from textiles, a remarkable growth has been registered into the exports of food products like oil meals, cereals, [word indistinct], processed fruits and juices since the last few months of 1992-93. Exports of rice have also picked up further. Consumer electronics and transport sector have also found competitive markets abroad.

India's thrust in exports has to be viewed in the context of the serious balance of payment situation which the country faced during 1990-91. To achieve the goal of the economic development, the government finally realized that export promotion was the only way out of the peril. A number of items have been withdrawn from negative list to facilitate growth in exports. Export as well as import policies were liberalized and licenses were removed from almost entire industrial sector. The FERA, that the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, also has been considerably diluted. After announcement of Exim [Export-Import] policy for 1992-93, the government has even further provided suitable measures tailored according to the needs of the country. Despite various odds and turbulence in the country during the past month, India's trend in growth in its foreign trade indicates that economy is set on the rails once again. Huge investments by the nonresident Indians and multinational companies in Indian industry has kindled the rays of hope of increased foreign trade.

Agreement Made With France on Joint Ventures in Mining

*BK0408021293 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
28 Jul 93 p 13*

[Text] India and France have agreed to facilitate the setting up of joint ventures in their territories and third countries in the field of mining and mining consultancy.

France has also agreed to consider providing an aid of French Franc 35 million for financing seven mineral exploration and allied projects in India. This decision was taken at the seventh meeting of the Indo-French Working Group on mineral exploration and development.

The two-day meeting, which concluded here on Tuesday, was attended by an eight-member French delegation led

by Claude Mandil, Director General, Energy and Primary Materials, Ministry of Industry, Posts, Telecommunications and External Commerce. The 13-member Indian team was led by Mines Secretary I.G. Jhingran.

The protocol of the meeting says that the two sides agreed that India's new liberalised mineral policy and accompanying changes in law and procedures would throw open new and varied opportunities for setting up joint ventures.

As regards the prospects of two countries joining hands for taking up mining projects in other countries, BRGM [Bureau of Geological Research and Mining] of France had earlier indicated that three such possible projects in Kenya and Madagascar. It was decided that an Indian team would visit France to study BRGM's detailed reports on these projects for mining ores of base metals, nickel, gold and fertiliser minerals.

The team would explore possibilities of taking up projects which are economically viable at international prices. The French team indicated prospects of initiating joint consultancy projects for rock phosphate mining in Senegal, geological mapping in Arab countries and natural hazards studies in the Philippines.

The protocol says that both sides agreed that the involvement of private sector in joint ventures would be necessary and that the terms of collaboration would have to be determined on mutually acceptable terms.

The projects proposed for French aid are: exploration of copper in Khetri belt of Rajasthan, Phase II, exploration of lead-zinc in Rajasthan, Phase II, supply of analytical and geophysical equipment, data-base management system for minerals, metals and trade, computer-aided map preparation, regional geochemical inventory and exploration on pilot-scale mining for Placer Gold Deposits in Kerala.

The gold exploration project is proposed to be conducted over two years. It will involve preliminary assessment and dredge sampling of river bed in Phase I; continuation of exploration and design of pilot washing plant in Phase II at the end of which an economic assessment would be carried out. Based on review of Phase I and II reports, a decision would be initiated Phase III envisaging setting up of a washing plant and pilot exploitation.

Taking into account the fact that diamond exploration and exploitation has been deleted from the public sector list under the new mineral policy, the working group decided not to pursue BRGM's proposal for diamond exploration in Andhra Pradesh.

Papers Report Naval Activities, Problems

Joint Exercises with UK

93AS0949A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 29 Apr 93
p 9

[Text] New Delhi, April 28. The Indo-U.K. strategic tie up moved a step towards consolidation with the two countries concluding joint naval exercises near Goa on Tuesday. Following close on the heels of recent agreements in the field of defence production, the manoeuvres promise the shaping up of a multifaceted cooperation by the two countries in the field of defence.

From the Indian side, INS Ranvir, a Rajput Class destroyer along with INS Ganga participated in the exercise while the British ship, HMS Southampton took part in these manoeuvres. While INS Ranvir is a Soviet "Kashin II" class destroyer—the first class of ships in the world to rely entirely on gas turbine propulsion, INS Ganga is a modification of the Western "Leander" design.

Two Anti Submarine Warfare (ASW) Sea King helicopters decked on the Ganga which also participated in the manoeuvres complemented by a helicopter on board the Southampton. The Southampton has been designed to provide air defence for a task force. This is the second naval exercise held recently by the two countries which began in April last year.

The end of cold war has led to a surge in India's strategic posturing with countries in the West and South East Asia. In fact, soon after the first round of Indo-U.S. naval exercises which was held in May 1992, officials in the United States have been pronouncing interest in the concept of joint naval security. The closure of the Subic Bay facility which housed the U.S. Seventh fleet has heightened the importance of the Indian Ocean littoral for keeping open shipping lanes in the region, vital for preserving the U.S. commercial interests.

In fact, India's participation in a wider security net is symbolised by the next meeting of the Indo-U.S. joint naval steering group which is expected in June this year at Guam.

Apart from the United States, India in recent years has held naval manoeuvres with France and the Indian Navy's extrovert face has been seen by Singapore, Australia and Indonesia with whom it has held joint manoeuvres.

Planned Exercises with Oman

93AS0949B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 7 May 93 p 13

[Text] Dubai, May 6 (UNI): India and Oman have agreed to hold their next joint naval exercises in Indian territorial waters in the coming winter as part of their stepped-up cooperation in defence matters.

This was decided during the high-level talks the chief of naval staff, Admiral L. Ramdas, had with top Omani defence officials while on an official visit to the Sultanate.

Official sources in Muscat said that the details of the joint exercises would be worked out by the officers of the two navies. The two countries had conducted their first joint naval exercises in the Gulf of Oman in January this year. That was the first time that India had undertaken such exercises with any country in this region.

The two sides also discussed plans for deployment of an Indian survey ship for a hydrographic survey off the Omani coast.

It was also agreed that Indian shipyards would make detailed presentations regarding their shipbuilding capabilities to Oman.

The sources said India also offered to enlarge its training programmes for Omani naval personnel.

Admiral Ramdas also offered to depute naval officers from India to Oman in keeping with its requirements.

Admiral Ramdas's visit was the first by an Indian chief of naval staff to Oman. His Omani counterpart had visited India in October, 1991.

Need for Carrier

93AS0949C New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 27 Apr 93
p 5

[Text] On Board INS Viraat, April 26 (UNI)—The Indian Navy must acquire a new aircraft carrier to maintain its edge on the high seas, flag officer commanding Western Fleet Rear Admiral Madhvendra Singh has said.

Speaking to a group of visiting journalists on board the country's flagship carrier INS Viraat, which conducted fleet and air defence exercises off the western coast last week, the Rear Admiral said this must be done as soon as possible "as it was already too late".

Maintaining that the programme to replace INS Vikrant, the country's first aircraft carrier, had already suffered due to the resources crunch, Rear Admiral Singh said that planning and sanctioning of funds for the carrier should be taken up immediately as it takes at least ten to 15 years to build a ship of such a large tonnage.

The Indian Navy also needs additional destroyers and frigates as, although the country maintains a favourable ratio with regard to its neighbours, the targets envisaged years ago has not been met, he said.

Rear Admiral Singh said the immediate solution to fulfil fleet requirements would be to acquire some ships from abroad and gradually step up indigenisation programmes, increasing the output to at least a ship a year.

The Navy decided to achieve self-reliance years ago and today four shipyards around the country are fabricating ships, the Rear Admiral said and added that the latest—INS Delhi—being built at MDL, would be inducted in the next few years.

He said the Western Fleet was spearheaded, by the two aircraft carriers and it was vital to maintain the seaworthiness of at least one at a time, with both requiring extensive maintenance. The carriers added air punch to maritime defense, which gave the vital edge to the country in maintaining full defence preparedness, he said.

INS Viraat, India's second and largest carrier is equipped with surface to air missiles and close-in weapon systems for self-defence its main role is to provide integral air effort for air defence as well as anti-submarine and long range anti-shipping strikes, the Rear Admiral said.

The formidable Sea Harrier fighter aircraft squadron of "White Tigers", the advanced anti-submarine "Seaking" helicopter squadron known as "Harpoons" and the search-and-rescue Chetak light helicopters, christened "the Angels", from air strike repertoire of INS Viraat and help the flagship to maintain vigil over the country's maritime area.

Rear Admiral Singh said the fleet had 14 smaller ships, four of which were destroyers, four missile frigates and two tankers class ships besides two aircraft carrier which performed blue water functions.

There were two smaller and well armed corvette class ships. The submarine arm of the fleet, consisting of 15 vessels also gave the Indian Navy its edge, he said.

The exercises conducted over a day were also witnessed by a team of service officers from 18 countries who are attending a course at the National Defence College, New Delhi.

The vessels taking part in the exercise, in a screen around INS Viraat, included INS Sukanya and INS Khukri (missile corvettes), INS Rana, INS Ranvir and INS Ranvijay (missile destroyers), INS Sidhuratna (submarine) and the fuel tanker INS Deepak which undertook replacement of supplies and personnel at sea.

Showing off their awesome precision firing capability the formidable Sea Harriers fired cluster bombs in an angled approach from forward port. The rockets zoomed past at a splash target towed by the carrier while two Harriers maintained vigil on the horizon on a combat air patrol.

The Seaking helicopters searched the sea for lurking enemy submarines using variable depth sonar and sonobuoys for easy detection. The advanced anti-submarine warfare helicopter also dropped depth charges which explode at different levels inside the sea to destroy enemy submarines.

The grand finale was provided by an aerobic display by five Harriers and a flypast. On their return, the Harriers displayed their vertical landing capability which makes this transonic jet a most versatile aircraft for air defence at sea. The aircraft are also armed with 30mm guns, air-to-air and air-to-surface missiles, bombs, rockets and other [sentence as published]

Russian Air Chief Optimistic on Spares

93AS0953A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 29 Apr 93 p 13

[Article by Dinesh Kumar: "Russia Optimistic on Spares Supply"]

[Text] New Delhi, April 28. The recently concluded bilateral talks between the Russian and Indian air force chiefs, have ended on a promising note with the Russian air chief expressing optimism that the supply of critical spares would be ensured despite the present political preoccupation in Russia.

The chief of air staff, Air Chief Marshal N.C. Suri, told the TOINS that he had extensive discussions with his Russian counterpart, Colonel General P.S. Denkin, on various issues of mutual interest.

The Russian air chief, who arrived on a five-day official visit last Thursday, left for Moscow yesterday. The discussions mainly focussed on meeting the contractual obligations relating to the supply of spares, overhauling of certain engines, product support and life extension of equipment.

Acknowledging that the IAF's [Indian Air Force] fleet of aircraft is essentially of erstwhile Soviet origin, the two sides also held wide ranging discussions on application of air power on aircraft common to both the air forces, on aspects of serviceability of the air fleet, snags emerging on common aircraft and understanding the usage of common equipment.

Another issue that came up for discussion was service to service co-operation involving exchange of information on serviceability, accident rates, operational strategy etc.

Significantly, Air Chief Marshal Suri said that although the possibility of having joint air exercises was not discussed, such an exercise would be desirable since "it helps promote understanding and provides a larger learning curve". "I have already enumerated my views in this regard to the ministry of defence," he said when asked to elaborate on this possibility.

However, there was no discussion on an earlier Russian offer of acquisition of any new aircraft or joint production—ventures between the two service chiefs. There had been speculation that the probability of discussing an earlier Russian offer of jointly producing the Su 27 and the S 54 jet trainer might figure during Russian air chief's visit. The obvious reason is that like the IAF, the

Russian Air Force does not deal with such topics which otherwise requires a political sanction.

While replying to questions on the need for maintaining a regular supply of spares, Air Chief Marshal Suri struck a near-desperate chord saying that although the position of spares was not critical they were "required urgently on some aircraft in order to keep the fleet airborne". However, he declined to elaborate any further on the issue.

Asked what measures were being taken to counter the threat posed by a neighbouring country's acquisition of the vastly superior Su 27 long range interceptor fighter aircraft, the air chief lamented that while there was no doubt that countries in the neighbourhood had either acquired or were in the process of acquiring new aircraft and weapon systems, the fact remained that India had recorded its lowest ever defence budget of just 2.5 per cent of its GDP [Gross Domestic Product].

Asked to spell out his priorities, Air Chief Marshal Suri said that from the existing budget, the orientation was to ensure adequate spares and product support in order to sustain the present fleet, procure the transonic advance jet trainer, which is a mandatory requirement for both training and in helping in transition from the subsonic to the supersonic, to get the ageing MiG 21 fleet updated and started without further loss of time while simultaneously supporting the LCA (light combat aircraft) project for early fructification.

Rao Speaks in Debate on Defense Budget

93AS0952A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 29 Apr 93 pp 1, 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, April 28: The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, on Wednesday assured the Lok Sabha that in spite of resource constraints, the country's defence preparedness would always remain a top priority and there would be no let up in this direction.

Mr. Narasimha Rao, who also holds the Defence portfolio, was replying to the discussion on budget grants relating to the Defence Ministry. The House later passed the grants for more than Rs 19,000 crore by voice vote, rejecting all the Opposition cut motions. The Opposition did not press for division either on the cut motions or on the budget demand.

The Prime Minister dispelled doubts expressed by some members about the country's defence preparedness and asserted that the optimum level of defence preparedness had not affected in any way and it would never be affected in future.

He also refuted the contention that the government had not evolved an articulated defence policy and said that India's defence policy has been very clear since independence. While India had no desire to conquer other

country's territory, defending the country's territory by all means and high priority for defence preparedness has been the policy.

However, Mr. Rao said the proposal for a national security council (NSC) was under review. He said though this idea had been discussed for years, "I have come to the conclusion that for certain purposes, the NSC may be a good idea." The NSC would meet the long-term needs of the country's security, he said.

He referred to the Defence Ministry's view that since defence matters involved speedy decision, secrecy and strategic planning, the setting up of a formal machinery might not be found very successful.

He said the end of the cold war had resulted in a "modicum of peace" at the global level but had not "ended our trouble, but enhanced it. We have to be on our toes to ensure the country's security," he said.

Without mentioning the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Prime Minister reiterated India's position that disarmament can and had to be only at the global level. He said despite possessing nuclear capability, India had chosen not to produce nuclear weapons and this would continue to be the country's defence policy.

Mr. Rao said the report of the committee set up by Mr. Sharad Pawar (who was the Defence Ministry till January this year) to prepare a 10-year plan for achieving self-reliance in defence, was expected by June this year. When the report was received, the government would know "where we stand" as far as the country's defence requirements and research and development were concerned.

The Prime Minister announced, amid thumping of desks, that the bulk production of Arjun, the Main Battle Tank, would begin during 1995-96. The winter trials have proved a success and the summer trials of the tank would be undertaken in June. "The country can be proud of Arjun tank," he said.

Mr. Rao announced that the MiG-21 fighters—constituting 70 per cent of the IAF [Indian Air Force]—would be phased out and replaced by the light combat aircraft (LCA) by the turn of the century.

Describing the LCA as a multi-role high performance aircraft, he said the technical options for it had been frozen. Production would begin in 1995 and the first flight was slated for 1996. Full production would begin by the end of the century, he said.

As regards the 'teeth-to-tail' ratio of the armed forces, Mr. Rao said it had improved from 62:38 in 1970 to 70:30 in 1990. "This shows we are doing well," he said.

Mr. Rao denied the charge that the recommendations of the Arun Singh Committee on streamlining defence expenditure were not implemented. The report was in six volumes. The government had taken decisions on

recommendations contained in volumes I, IV, V and VI and it was not correct to say that the report was shelved. In this context, he stated that a decision had been taken in regard to the size of the Eighth Plan for defence.

He also stated that it was not correct to say that there was a cut in expenditure on defence. Giving the figures relating to budgetary allocations for defence since 1989-90 to 1993-94, he pointed out that with the exception of 1989-90 when the defence accounted for 15.5 per cent of the total budget, during all other years, the percentage was similar and there was no cut.

Referring to the demand for increased allocation for research and development so that self-sufficiency in defence could be achieved, Mr. Narasimha Rao said investment in defence R&D during 1993-94 had been stepped up considerably over that of the previous year.

This is not enough, he said, "We are trying to plough back the savings for research and development so that modernisation could take place at a faster rate." Whenever funds were available, "we would go back to the original level of investment."

the next three to five years.

As for lateral induction of forces, Mr. Rao said it was a good idea. But one inhibition is that those who retired from service did not want to leave their hometowns or villages and take up something there. The second problem was that the vacancies available in paramilitary forces was inadequate to absorb those retiring from the services.

The Prime Minister felt the allegation that there was largescale corruption in recruitment of defence forces was not correct. Certain procedures were followed and there might be some kind of irregularities, he said and sought suggestions from the members and the general public to make the recruitment policy more transparent and less corrupt.

Mr. Rao said the government could not fund compulsory military training to all able-bodied youth due to resource constraints. "We are unable to enlarge the scope of the National Cadet Corps (NCC) due to high costs but in future we have to fall in line with other countries in this regard," he said.

The Prime Minister hinted at enhanced taxes on cantonment boards so that they did not depend on government funding entirely.

Chief of Air Staff Meets With Newsmen

93AS0950A Madras THE HINDU in English 1 May 93
p 4

[Quotation marks as published

[Text] Bangalore, April 30. The Chief of the Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal Nirmal C. Suri said here on Friday

that the IAF [Indian Air Force] had to undertake joint air exercises with air forces of other countries as they had high learning potential.

Talking to presspersons after receiving the 3000th aircraft, a Rotorcraft from the Hindustan Aeronautics, he said he was for joint air exercises. He did not indicate with which country this would be done.

Air Chief Marshal Suri emphasised the need for indigenisation of aircraft and spares needed by IAF. However an exception had to be made in the case of the Advanced Jet Trainer. The programme to acquire it had been delayed since 1986 and any further delay would not be in the interests of the Air Force. The choice for the country was between the British 'Hawk' and the Franco-German, Alpha Jet. Three former Chiefs of the Air Staff, the late Khatre and Air Chief Marshals La Fontaine and S.K. Mehra had favoured the acquisition of the "Hawk." The trainer should have been bought in 1986 as prices were lower then.

The Air Force had remained operationally viable and if anyone thrust a war on the country, it would live up to the trust reposed in it by the country. They had taken care to ensure that spares for the aircraft were available. Noting that 75 per cent of the IAF fleet was of former Soviet origin, they had built up spares even before the days of 'Glasnost and Perestroika' in the erstwhile Soviet Union. At this, HAL [Hindustan Aeronautics Limited] Chairman Mr. R.N. Sharma, said they were manufacturing 60 per cent of the components which went into the aircraft of former Soviet origin. The Air Chief said the country had a reactive and not a proactive defence policy. India replied to Pakistan's acquisition of F-16 aircraft by going in for the Mirage 2000. The country spent only 2.4 per cent of its gross domestic product on defence, including research and development. Even a country like Bangladesh spent a higher percentage on defence.

The Air Chief Marshal said the first batch of women officers recruited to the transport branch of the Air Force would be graduating in June. They had been trained to fly transport aircraft and helicopters. The appointment of women to technical and aviation branches would be considered later.

A gun a 'Black Cat' commando was carrying went off today. The commando was one of the bodyguards of the Chief of the Air Staff. The bullet hit the granite wall of the HAL office on Cubbon Road. The Air Chief was inside the office.—Our Special Correspondent

Arjun Tank Claimed Suited for South Asian Environment

93AS0899E Madras FRONTLINE in English 4 Jun 93
p 14

[Article by Manoj Joshi: "Arjun: Main Battle Tank Tailor-Made for India"]

[Text] The recent successful trials of the Arjun pre-production series battle tanks No. 11 and 12 (PP-11 and 12) mark a milestone for the Defence Research and Development Organization's (DRDO) Combat Vehicles Research and Development Establishment (CVRDE) based at Avadi near Madras.

The tanks were put through the paces for eight hours straight, and hundreds of rounds were fired to test the systems. That the crew had just six weeks of theoretical and 10 days of practical training, compared to the three months taken during the T-72 upgradation, points to the simplicity of design and operation of the new series. A senior officer, who drove the tank and fired the gun with just ten minutes of instruction, compared it in terms of ease of driving the Mercedes Benz car he had used as a military attache abroad.

For years the CVRDE had been struggling with the challenge of designing a tank and faced considerable skepticism in the Army. India has always had foreign-made battle tanks (MBTs): the British Centurion and Vickers Vijayanta or the Soviet T-55 and T-72. None was even tested in Indian conditions, leave alone being designed for them. But the Arjun prototypes have had to go through a rigorous series of testing of their automotive and gun systems in Rajasthan and Punjab in all kinds of weather for four years. This is the "luxury" of designing indigenous systems, notwithstanding the critics. The T-72, inferior to the Arjun, was designed for the cold, wet and muddy conditions of the plains of central Europe.

But what is Indian about the Arjun, considering that the powerpack and some sub-systems are not Indian? The design. This means everything that has gone into the tank, regardless of its country of origin, caters to Indian requirements.

An excellent example is the engine—a sophisticated German-made MTU diesel generating 1400 H.P. At temperatures of 112°C, the systems automatically derates the engine, but allows the engine to propel the tank at 25 kmph with considerable power. "The great thing is that the tank will not stop," said a senior armored corps officer associated with the project. At that temperature, a T-72 or equivalent would have to stop, or its engine would "seize." In any case, he says, "show me the armored commander who can maintain a tactical formation going cross-country at speeds greater than 25 kmph." A tank with an enhanced cooling pack is being tried, but there are some problems in the depression angle of the gun when facing the rear. "You cannot have the best of everything," a member of the design team said. "The pros and cons of each system and sub-system have to be balanced, and that is why the designer user interaction is so important."

This came about with the induction of senior, combat-experienced armored corps officers to head the Directorate of Combat Vehicles since 1987. Things began to fall in place. The first incumbent was Lt. Gen. S.P.M.

Tripathi who was commander of the elite I Corps and is currently Deputy Chief of the Army Staff. Lt. Gen. Ajay Singh, whose armored experience is not his only claim to fame, took over from Tripathi. Ajay Singh is also the principal author of the successful "Operation Rhino" in Assam. User-interaction provided DRDO scientists with the confidence that they were on the right track. While earlier officers participated in the program, they did not have enough seniority to impress Army Headquarters, or push the DRDO.

The Arjun is an essential component of the Indian Army's battle doctrines shaped by an earlier generation of commanders including Gen. K.V. Krishna Rao and Gen. K. Sundarji. This doctrine, which took shape with induction of Soviet armored equipment in the early 1980s, emphasizes battles being fought in Rajasthan and the Rann of Kutch. The complex canal/anti-tank ditch defences of Punjab (in Pakistan) are now viewed as prohibitively expensive to assault. In the desert, armored forces would move 150-200 km into Pakistani territory in a battle of maneuver and surprise. The requirement of the Arjun is therefore cross-country mobility in the desert and the ability to fight on the move for eight hours at a stretch. Typical engagement ranges in the dune valleys of the desert and the farmlands of the north would see tank versus tank at 800-900 meters.

With its sophisticated gun and fire control system, the Arjun will be able to strike moving targets while being on the move itself. All that the gunner has to do is to keep the dot on the sight trained on the target, and the rest of the systems will adjust themselves for what is called a "very high first-round kill probability." This is a feature of all contemporary MBTs (it is absent in the otherwise excellent T-72). Another important feature is the Arjun's thermal imaging sight that can enable it to "see" up to 5 km in the dark. The passive sight is important as it does not give away the tank's position unlike the infra-red searchlight used by the T-72.

The gun is 120 mm with a rifled barrel, a specific Indian design requirement. Tanks are primarily used to "kill" tanks and for this, in the era of composite-armor, fin-stabilized, armor-piercing discard sabot (FSAPDS) ammunition is used. This is nothing but a bar of tungsten propelled by an explosive at great speed to punch through the armor. The Indian FSAPDS is of an unusually good design that does not ricochet even at very high angles of strike. But the rifling of the barrel was for the secondary requirement—the tank will be able to fire High Explosive, favored by the Indian and Pakistani armies for bunker-busting.

The Arjun itself protected by the Indian-made Kanchan laminated armor, whose capabilities are so secret they are known only to the Chief of the Army Staff and the DRDO chief. Top attack-protection as well as additional all-round protection will be provided even for the Mark 1 series by reactive armor panels.

The Army Headquarters General Staff Qualitative Requirement (GSQR) calls for the powerpack being able to last 6,000 km, transmission for 12,000 km, tracks 5,000 km and road wheels 10,000 km. So far one engine has crossed the GSQR limit and one tank has fired over 1,000 rounds. The prototypes (PO-1 to 10) generate automotive data while the pre-production series (PPs 11 and 12 which were displayed and PPs 13-16 which are ready) will generate data on the gun control and fire control systems, besides automotive data. In addition, the Army has placed orders for nine PP series tanks to be used by an Army squadron. This is expected to provide important data so that the Mark 1 design can be frozen by 1994-95.

The Mark 2 will have even more advanced features such as radar warning receivers, fully electrical turrets, a target surveillance device and a more powerful 1500 H.P. engine. There will also be greater miniaturization of electronics. The designers stress that such enhancements are regular features of tank design. To criticism about the publicity given to the pre-production series, they say that the French Leclerc is yet to begin assembly-line production, but it has been widely advertised and written up in professional journals.

The key issue now is of production. Many Indian design and development successes have failed in the transfer of technology and production phase. One major problem, the supply of the engine from Germany, was ironed out during the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. But Indian production centers have had problems absorbing technology. For instance, even sophisticated plants such as Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd had problems with the MiG-21 fighters. Their Army has been unhappy with the work culture at the Avadi Heavy Vehicles Factory (HVF) which, they say, messed up the Vijayanta.

This will be a problem since the Arjun is far more sophisticated.

Pakistani Missiles 'Could' Pose Major Threat

BK0207140893 Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Jun 93 p 5

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bangalore, June 22—Pakistan's latest missile development programme utilising the French sounding rocket technology could pose major threats to India, a study carried out by a scientist of the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) in the capital has cautioned.

According to the study, the technical attributes and the performance of the 'HATF' [deadly] clan of missiles and the French sounding rockets Daulphin and Dragon III match very well.

The study an assessment of Pakistan's missile capability, by Mr. S. Chandrashekar, says that though some technical parameters of the Chinese SL-2 missile (ship to

shore) were almost similar to those of HATF-1, the Chinese were unlikely to part with the technology.

As France had already transferred the sounding rocket technology to Pakistan, that could be the base for HATF-1, and the more advanced HATF-2 and HATF-3 missiles, says Mr. Chandrashekar.

The study states that of the three missiles, 'HATF-2' and 'HATF-3' could pose major threats to India's security. The 'HATF-3', (800 km range) with a nuclear warhead of 500 kg can reach New Delhi from locations fairly deep inside Pakistan. The 'HATF-2' could hit the national capital with a conventional warhead weighing 300-400 kg, it added.

The study, however, says 'HATF-3' could be at least five years away from fruition because this class of missiles requires a number of new developments, including that of a new booster, with the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in force, critical materials, components and facilities would have to be indigenously developed. The study says that Pakistan could be evolving two versions of 'HATF-3' with variations in the booster and overall length of the missile.

It said the transfer of French know-how appeared to be in compliance with the MTCR, which permits sale of technology for missiles with a range less than 300 km and with a 500 kg warhead. Such a deal for manufacture of sounding rockets would include propellant casting, curing and other related test facilities. Such facilities could also be used for production of larger diameter rocket motors required for missiles with increased range.

'HATF-1' and 'HATF-2', the analysis states, use solid propellants, while the first missile was a single stage vehicle, the other was a two-stage vehicle with 'HATF-1' constituting the first stage.

Mr. Chandrashekar says the 'HATF-1' missile could be developed quickly (one to two years) because the rocket motors were available and only guidance technology need be developed.

For 'HATF-2' which involves two rocket motors, stage separation and ignition must be proved through several test flights. In addition, heatshields (for re-entry) involving advanced materials and telemetry technology would be required for that missile. If major breakthroughs were not yet achieved in these hi-tech areas, the missiles project could be delayed by a couple of years.

No Purchase of Military Planes in Next 10 Years

BK2207134893 Calcutta ANANDABAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali 10 Jul 93 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, 9 July—The Indian Air Force (IAF) will not buy any foreign military aircraft for the next 10 years due to financial constraints. A hint to this effect was given by outgoing Air Marshal N.S. Suri today. He

said that the IAF will receive light combat aircraft (LCA) in 2003, adding that it will be suitable for the next century.

The outgoing IAF chief said that after this period, major purchases will most probably include the advanced jet trainer (AJT). This is very essential for the IAF because the "trainer" aircraft currently possessed by the IAF has a speed less than the speed of sound. Major "operational fighter" planes such as the Mirage-2000 and MiG-20 can

fly faster than the speed of sound. The type of fighter aircraft which the IAF has at present is sufficient to meet defense needs. It has MiGs, including models 21 to 29, Jaguar and Mirage, which are capable of easily encountering the enemy. The IAF does not need more advanced fighters at the moment. The outgoing air chief acknowledged that India is facing difficulties due to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It is facing difficulties in getting spare parts for Soviet-built aircraft. However, it is not that big a problem, he added.

Doordarshan Plan To Expand Doubted*93AS0900G Cochin THE WEEK in English 23 May 93
pp 64 65*

[Article by Rashmi Saksena along with interview of Broadcasting Minister: "Blurred Signals: Doubts Remain About Doordarshan's Ambitious Plans To Counter Star TV"; quotation marks and italicized words as published]

[Text] Doordarshan is to launch its most ambitious plan to date on August 15. On this day, it will enter the realm of Sky TV, beaming down for the first time ever, its programmes directly to the viewers through satellite. Three brand new channels will go on the air along with two existing ones and will be available on dish antenna. In other words, Doordarshan will offer a choice of five channels on a single dish.

This is to be Doordarshan's answer to Star TV, presently holding supreme in the Indian skies. Not only does DD want to give the foreign satellite TV channels a run for their money, but also hopes to net in the much-needed revenue through advertisements. Besides the commercial aspect, there is an ideological factor, too. According to the powers that be, the cultural invasion brought in by the likes of Star TV has to be tackled. How long can they just sit back and see their own kind corrupted by the bare bodies and gory violence? It is time Indian culture was given the same hype and who can do it better than our own DD.

The plans are fine and there is little doubt that the launch will be on schedule. However, the most vital question that emerges is: will DD be able to achieve what it has set out to do. Sources in Doordarshan directorate are pessimistic. As things stand today, "we are not in a position to really start off on such an ambitious project. Enough work has not been done on it yet," disclosed a senior official. Not only does a notification for the channels have to be issued and applications invited for the slot arrangement, but even 'matters of policy have to be decided.'

According to R. K. Singh, deputy director-general, Doordarshan, the directorate has finished its job and the scheme is pending with the ministry (information and broadcasting) for clearance. The ministry is trying to work out the best way to run this. "Since things are at a preliminary stage, it would not be right of me to divulge anything more," he says. In other words, all that the ministry is sure about at present is that it is going to make these new channels available on the dish. But what is the fare and how it is going to be served are yet to be worked out.

"The ministry is still groping in the dark though the deadline is almost at hand," remarked an official attached to the programme department. The biggest fear haunting the officials is of software availability. "TV is like a hungry monster that needs constant feeding. Where are we going to get the software to feed five

channels and that too of quality that will give Star TV a drumming?" ask puzzled officials. In-house productions will not be able to meet the demand and private production houses in the country presently do not have the infrastructure to provide software in this quantity.

The option then seems to be to go in for tie-ups with foreign companies. But will they be able to give programmes made specifically for the Indian audience? If not, will the new channels also dish out the same stuff as Star TV?

"Zee TV faces a software crunch when it comes to getting India specific programmes," disclosed a DD official. The drawback, of course, is that the country does not at present have companies which have studio facilities, equipment like cameras as well as pre and post production facilities to make programmes on a large scale. "All we have are small producers who can make a few programmes through link-ups with foreign companies. Only big-timers with a lot of money can set up production units and they have not done it so far," the official adds. Sources, however, point out that many Indian business houses are keen to invest in programme making companies but are holding back till they are clear about the quantity of investment that will be required.

Sources reveal that of the three new channels—the sport channel, the business and current affairs channel and the entertainment channel to be called enrichment channel—only two have been sought by programme companies for buying time. The sports channel and the business and current affairs channel are in demand at present, "though there is no contract with anyone so far," revealed a source. This may well have something to do with the fee that has to be paid to DD. On the sports channel, half an hour can be bought for Rs 3,000 and on the business and current affairs channel for Rs 10,000. Time is understandably dear on the enrichment channel. Half an hour means shelling out over Rs 2 lakh. Obviously, it is this channel that is expected to attract the advertiser.

To be commercially viable, any satellite channel has to be transnational in terms of marketing and advertisement. The DD channels will be able to be so only if they have programmes of interest to viewers in other countries and the advertisers will come only if India has a market for their products. The absence of a broadcasting law in India will also bring problems of its own. "It will be difficult to buy internationally (programmes) if the copyright is not protected," explained an official in the DD directorate.

Star TV is apparently not bothered by DD's ambitious plans. Said Siddhartha Ray, general manager of Star in India: "We fight competition in every market the world over and we will fight it here too." Do they expect much competition from DD's new channels? "Though there is a large pool of talent available in the country, India cannot produce enough software to feed five channels.

DD will have to go in for tie-ups with foreign companies," he says. Ray believes that "no satellite channel can run on commissioned software because the cost is more than buying the licence." Two years ago, Star invested \$600 million for the Asian skies; it has strong tie-ups for the music, sports and news programmes. This may become essential for DD, too, he pointed out, as "there are no production houses here."

Star has no intentions of changing its programmes because of the new DD channels. "We cannot change our programmes to make them India specific as it would affect the viewers in other countries," says Ray.

Will DD's new channels wean away the viewers from Star TV? The answer lies in what will be dished out.

Interview—K. P. Singh Deo, I&B Minister

'I Have To Find Money'

QUESTION: Is the opening of the three new channels by Doordarshan a commercial venture or an ideological one?

ANSWER: This is purely a commercial venture. Of course, life is not without ideology so I can't promise that ideology will not creep in. But the new channels are being started to make money. The budgetary support for us has come down from 80 per cent to 20 per cent, so I have to find money to keep Doordarshan running.

In Parliament, you mentioned that the proposed new channels were being started to give a befitting response to the cultural invasion by foreign satellite TV channels.

It is for this that we have decided to have, besides a sports channel and a channel for business as well as current affairs, an enrichment channel. This channel will also show development programmes, besides entertainment. For example if we want to tell the people about the public distribution system we can air it on this channel. There has been a lot of criticism on crass commercialisation. But if I have to find money and unshackle the electronic media from governmental control, I will have to find sponsors. So there have to be some channels which can attract sponsors.

The audience is lapping up the fare dished out by the foreign channels. Will you give similar programmes?

The duty of Doordarshan is to inform, educate and entertain. We will have a good mix of all three.

With this sort of a package do you think you will be able to wean away viewers from foreign TV channels?

It is not only a question of weaning away the viewers. It is also a question of doing our duty. There is a lot of criticism that we are losing viewership. This is not correct, because our revenue is going up. This would not have been possible if we were losing our viewers.

Your new metro channel has a good viewership. But it airs a number of foreign programmes, including soaps like Dallas. Are the new channels also going to depend on this stuff to get back viewers?

The metro channel is still an experiment. We are testing our facilities including that of marketing. We have benefited plenty from this experiment, and are slowly getting into our stride. The showing of *Dallas* is a stop-gap arrangement. The producers were not ready with their programmes because they say there was little time.

Where is the software to feed the three channels going to come from? Do you think that your in-house effort can produce enough software?

The idea has never been to have all in-house programmes. This is not to be a governmental effort at all. If I have to have programmes with variety and also net in outside talent I have to get programmes from others outside. They need not be foreign produced programmes. Though we will retain the right to have sponsored programmes and commissioned programmes, we will open up to outside agencies. We are going to utilise the suggestions made by the Air Time Committee in this regard.

This committee has resigned.

I have not accepted the resignation yet. It gave in the documents in January this year. We will accept the broad recommendations of this committee.

Will you also give the news slot to privately owned broadcasting companies?

We already have functional autonomy in this sphere. But to open up further we will have a body free of governmental control that can take a decision on this.

Is a tie-up with foreign companies like BBC and CNN being considered for software?

There is no such thing right now in the ministry.

There is an opinion that instead of going in for three new channels, it would have been better to have one new channel which would give the best of programmes.

This is indeed food for thought. If I feel this will be better we will switch to that from three channels. Maybe I'll make mistakes...so what...as long as I finally profit from them. In January, I was castigated for the metro channel. Today they are crying for more of it.

Since you plan to open up the electronic media, are you going to have a body to monitor the inflow of software? Are you going to keep a check on what is going to be aired over the TV and radio?

I would like to have a special body for this purpose. Monitoring will be there. The gamut of activities to be unleashed in this sphere will definitely call for a monitoring body.

Muslim Women Call For Reform of Divorce Laws
93AS0961C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 21 Jun 93
pp 1,7

[Text] New Delhi, 24 June—It was the first press conference in which three divorced Muslim women challenged Talaq custom. They demanded that the Muslim Law Board clarify its stand on the issue; otherwise, the women would start a jihad to obtain their rights. Two of the women, Shahida Begum and Shehnaz, are from old Delhi. The third refused to reveal her identity.

Muslim women have never adopted such a harsh attitude toward ulemas in the past. The restaurant where this press conference was called was filled to the brim. Among the three women who were victims of the divorce system, two were without burqas [veils], and they all related their experiences. They believe that the "triple talaq law" [divorce by Islamic law] is wrong and is being misused.

Shahida Begum, from Farash Khana in Delhi, was married for eight years. The 22-year-old Shahida said that her husband divorced her last January. She learned that her husband, Mohammed Rafiq, was seeing another girl. Upon learning this, she went and caught her husband. She told him to make arrangements for her before he left. She asked what would happen to her three children. At this, her husband said three times, "I divorce you," but she only heard it twice. He then left. After this incident, Shahida went to muftis [Muslim jurist]. Mufti Mohammed Mukarram Ahmed asked for details of this incident in writing. He later announced his decision that the talaq had been effective. Shahida went to visit the women's crime division; however, she did not get justice there. She was told that she should follow the system that the Muslims practiced.

Shahida has three children, two sons and one daughter—Mohammed Sadiq (6 years), Mohammed Shaker (3 years), and Shaista (2 years). She said that her husband neither came to see her after this incident, nor has he given her any money to support the family. He is living with the girl in the Chaunsath Khamba area of Delhi. Shahida said that she is working as a laborer to support her children. There is no one to help her. Shahida still wants to live with her husband. She said that the decision of Al-Hadith regarding the triple talaq is in favor of women. If the ulemas accept this decision, then women will no longer be victims of the triple talaq system. She said that the decision by Ahl-i Hadish was practiced during the time of the Prophet. She asked why the ulemas refuse to accept it.

The second woman is Shehnaz. She lives in Ballimaran in Delhi. She said that her husband, Hussein Ahmed, sent her a legal paper with a 20 rupee stamp with the triple talaq written on it. The ulemas declared the divorce valid. Shehnaz, 28, claims that her husband is crazy and divorced her in his madness. He had also taken away all of the jewelry given to her at the wedding. He did not return the mohar [wedding

deposit] and does not provide her nafra [living expenses]. Shehnaz has two children—son Mohammed Asif (5 years) and daughter al-Yusra (4 years). Shehnaz told us that her in-laws are very greedy. They asked her repeatedly to bring more money from her parents' home. On one occasion they told her to bring 10,000 rupees. Her mother had no money. When she returned to her in-laws' home, her husband beat her and threw her out of the house. At the time, she was eight months pregnant. Her daughter was born in her mother's house, and her in-laws never came to visit her. Her husband later wrote the triple talaq on paper and sent it to her. Shehnaz supports herself by sewing clothes for other people.

Shehnaz says that she went to Madarsa Islamia [Islamic school]. After this incident, she was told clearly that she had been divorced. Shehnaz, however, does not recognize this divorce system. She says that it is wrong to divorce innocent women this way. Shehnaz says of the decision of the Ahl-i Hadis, "If we accept this decision, then many of the problems Muslim women face could be solved. The Personal Law Board should make a decision on this issue as soon as possible."

The third woman, who did not want to reveal her name, said that she was married for seven years. Two years ago, her husband divorced her. She said that when she was married, her husband was an ordinary government employee. After the marriage, however, he became an important officer and became involved with a girl. He was appointed to an office in another city. He gradually began to reduce the amount he sent for household expenses. When she asked him to increase the allowance, he wrote the triple talaq and sent it to her. The woman said that divorcing innocent women by calling for the triple talaq is grossly wrong. She said, "When we marry, we are asked if we want to marry the man. The woman's opinion should also be asked at the time of divorce."

Husna Malik Subhani, who represents the All India Muslim Womens' Association, and is responsible for bringing these women together, appealed to the All India Muslim Personal Law Board to find a correct answer to the issue of divorce, in accordance with the Koran and the Hadis. She said that if this is not done, the women will start a campaign to get justice. Mrs. Subhani, the president of the association, said that saying the talaq three times to divorce women is wholly wrong.

She said that if the board does not provide an appropriate decision, Muslim women will start a peaceful and democratic jihad to get their rights. She said that the recent decision made by Ahl-i Hadis was made according to the Koran and the Hadis, and that it should be adopted. In addition, she said that the Muslim majority countries of the world (Sudan, Turkey, Egypt, and Pakistan) have reformed the talaq tradition. The ulemas in

India, however, have not taken any concrete steps to resolve this issue.

INSAT-2B Satellite Solar Panels Deployed

*BK2807163493 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1430 GMT 28 Jul 93*

[Text] ISRO [Indian Space Research Organization] scientists at the Master Control facility at Hassan have successfully deployed the solar panels and array on board the multipurpose satellite INSAT-2B. The panels will generate about 1,200 watts of electricity needed for the satellite. Scientists plan to deploy two communications antennae and the solar cell and boom tomorrow. They told our Bangalore correspondent that all systems on board the satellite are working as per specifications.

INSAT-2B Satellite Declared 'Operational'

*BK1008161493 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1530 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[Text] The country's latest multipurpose satellite, INSAT-2B, has been declared operational from today itself. It reached its destined orbit slot of 93.5 degree east longitude on the sixth of this month. The Indian Space Research Organization, ISRO, said in Bangalore today that a team of experts from the Departments of Space and Telecommunications, Doordarshan [television], All India Radio, and Indian Meteorological Department carried out detailed tests and evaluation of the communications transponders and the meteorological payloads. The team recommended that the payloads in the satellite can be made operational with immediate effect. Our Bangalore correspondent, Sheshachandrika, reports that it is the first time that the Indian space scientists have operationalized an indigenously-built satellite in the shortest period of 18 days after its launching.

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